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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1793

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'NEPSZABADSAG' HOLDS ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE ON WARSAW PACT

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 May 80 p 5

[Round table discussion with Colonel-General Karoly Csemi, Lieutenant General Ferenc Karpati, Mrs. Istvan Papp, Istvan Roska, Istvan Varga, and Istvan Kormendy of NEPSZABADSAG editorial staff]

[Text] On May 14 the Warsaw Pact, a defense alliance of the socialist countries, will be 25 years old. NEPSZABADSAG organized a round-table conference on the circumstances of the organization's creation, the operation of its political and military organs and institutions, and its current tasks in foreign policy and defense. Participants of the conference were Colonel-General Karoly Csemi, state secretary of the Ministry of Defense, Hungarian deputy of the supreme command of the Warsaw Pact's United Armed Forces; Lieutenant General Ferenc Karpati, Deputy Minister of Defense, chief of political main department; Mrs. Istvan Papp, chief of main department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Istvan Roska, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs; and Istvan Varga, deputy chief of the MSZMP Central Committee's department of foreign affairs. Our editorial staff was represented by Istvan Kormendy.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The events leading up to the formation of the Warsaw Pact indicate that the socialist countries have tried from the beginning to guarantee their security in a broader European context and to avoid the establishment of military alliances and the present European military opposition.

[VARGA] The international class struggle was characterized in the early 1950's by the headway made by democratic forces struggling for social progress. Revolutionary and national liberation movements were revived. National democratic systems were created and strengthened in numerous

countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The German Democratic Republic was born in the late 1940's. The Chinese revolution gained a victory in Southeast Asia. With this the socialist world system was born and the colonial system of imperialism began to disintegrate. The Communist and workers' parties became stronger in Western Europe and in other parts of the world, and their political influence increased. Imperialism saw that its fundamental interests were endangered by the forces of progress, and reacted aggressively to these changes. The military and political reorganization of the capitalist world began, coupled with experiments in reviving German militarism and the inclusion of the German Federal Republic in NATO, the North Atlantic military block.

[ROSKA] The American plans for world domination gave West Germany a special role in Europe. I must remind you that this was Adenauer's West Germany which openly proclaimed that it did not recognize the borders resulting from World War II.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries made numerous proposals until 1955, suggesting again and again the alternative of a collective European security as opposed to the creation of military blocks. However, after the Paris Treaty came into effect on 5 May 1955, according to which the newly-armed West Germany became a full-fledged member of NATO. The Warsaw Pact was signed on 14 May 1955.

[KARPATI] It became clear that the Bundeswehr was to become the NATO's main military force in Europe. The aggressive character of the Atlantic Treaty was further increased by this and by the decision to supply the NATO-forces with nuclear equipment. Under such circumstances it became indispensable for the European socialist countries to make joint measures to insure their security.

[CSEMI] In the United States the military and political doctrines announced after World War II were the concepts of "containment" and "liberation." They were directed basically against the Soviet Union and the young socialist countries. The special danger of their intentions was that the United States was for a few years the sole possessor of nuclear weapons and that for a while it had a superiority in offensive nuclear weapons even after losing its nuclear monopoly.

[VARGA] The Warsaw Pact is history's first alliance in which the members not only strived to avoid war through their joint foreign policy and high-level defense capacity but also brought about significant positive changes in the entire system of international relations. The most significant among these is that the member states of the pact through their peace policy initiatives achieved that the capitalist countries accepted in practice the peaceful coexistence of countries of various social systems as the only realistic alternative in today's international relations. On the basis of the Warsaw Pact's attitudes and realistic proposals to solve disputed international questions, it became possible to solve numerous

complex problems. This is also the basis for the cooperation with the realistic government circles of the capitalist countries and for international detente.

[Question] How were the joint plans and institutions which served the foreign policy and defense functions of the alliance implemented in the past 25 years and how did they change?

[ROSKA] The Political Consultive Commission, abbreviated PTT, created with the signing of the pact, is the primary organ of military and political cooperation between the Warsaw Pact's member states. The Warsaw Pact is not a kind of super-national institution and thus the Political Consultive Commission is supposed to analyze the international situation, to coordinate the foreign policies of the member states and to define the actions that foster defense and peace. Characteristic of its resolutions is that they are valid for those member states which vote for them. The first secretaries of the member states' sister parties, government presidents, secretaries of central committees dealing with foreign affairs, ministers of foreign affairs and often ministers of defense take part in its meetings.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact also hold conferences. At the beginning, these meetings of foreign ministers had an ad-hoc character. In 1976 the Bucharest meeting of the PTT made a resolution to create the committee of foreign ministers as a political organ of the Warsaw Pact. The creation of this committee--in the year following the signing of the closing document of the Helsinki agreement--was justified by the fact that, especially with reference to Europe, the number of questions increased which required consultation, coordinated views and actions and which require more frequent meetings of representatives of the member states. The committee of foreign ministers has held four meetings since 1976.

[Question] In what kind of consultative and coordinative processes are the joint views and statements of the Warsaw Pact's member states formulated?

[ROSKA] The texts of the joint views and statements are prepared and sent to the responsible leading organs of the other member states by the state in which the meeting is held. Every member state will have its own views on the preliminary text. After this, specialists of the member states discuss the proposals and comments and adopt the final wording of the text which is then submitted for ratification to the PTT or the meeting of the foreign ministers committee.

[Mrs. Papp] Mutual information between the socialist countries and coordination of our views and actions are especially important under the present complex and difficult international conditions. The task, which is the focal point of present Hungarian diplomacy--just like it is that of the

other member states of the Warsaw Pact--is primarily to maintain and further detente, to have accepted our joint proposals accepted which serve no foster military detente, and to encourage their realization. The socialist countries, including Hungary, have at present bilateral consultations with the other European states in preparation of the meeting in Madrid and of the pan-European conference dealing with military detente and disarmament. A useful role is played by the practice of regular consultations and discussions on foreign policy established between the socialist and West-European countries. These discussions deal primarily with various questions of European security in addition to bilateral relations.

[Question] How do the Warsaw Pact's two political organs, which come together periodically, insure an adequate operation in the midst of speeded-up international events?

[VARGA] The present framework is suitable for carrying out the organization's tasks but, in order to make the defense cooperation between the member states highly effective, to coordinate their political stand and, generally, to insure their multilateral cooperation based on international proletarian principles, its further perfection is justified. This is also needed because of the more rapid international events mentioned. For this reason, the Warsaw Pact will probably continue to pay increased attention to expand cooperation with new forms and to make joint action more effective both in political planning and in the implementation of joint measures.

[KARPATI] With regard to the Warsaw Pact's basic military questions, it is also the PTT that takes the last stand. In its meetings, the supreme commander regularly reports on the condition of the joint armed forces and on the mid- and longer-range plans. Both the joint high command and the command of the national armed forces operate on the basis of concepts of development that are conceived and accepted there.

[CSEMI] The committee of foreign ministers is the Warsaw Pact's highest-level military organization. The creation of it was decided in the 1969 Budapest meeting of the PTT. In addition to the foreign ministers of the member states, the supreme commander and chief of the joint armed forces are also members of the committee. The committee holds regular meetings. The committee works out proposals and resolutions in the fundamental questions of developing and preparing the joint armed forces. The military and political situation is thoroughly analyzed at its meetings, and it is these analyses from which the consequences defining the tasks are drawn.

In addition to the foreign ministers' committee, the military council of the armed forces is another important institution. It usually meets twice a year and discusses the practical tasks of armys training and preparation. It prepares proposals and, at the same time, it examines the realization of earlier resolutions. The supreme commander's national deputies are the members of the military council.

The technical corps is also a joint military institution which prepares proposals regarding the weapon and technical system of the armies of the member states. It also holds meetings twice a year. The meetings of both the ministerial committee and the other military committees are democratic, have a creative atmosphere and make the decisions in view of both the interests of the member states and joint interests.

The decision to establish a joint command and a body of joint armed forces was made at the 1969 Budapest meeting of the PTT. The chief of the joint staff is the supreme commander of the joint armed forces. The headquarters of the joint command and the body of joint armed forces is in Moscow, and is made up by generals and officers of the allied armies. The joint command as a leading military organ maintains close relations with the commands of the allied national armies, and that is how the tasks are coordinated and organized.

[Question] What mutual goals and tasks of the foreign policies of the Warsaw Pact's member states will be focused on during the current preparations of the Political Consultative Commission's Warsaw meeting?

[VARGA] I think it is fundamental that the countries of the socialist community continue with their consistent peace policy in spite of the efforts, anti-detente attitude, endeavors to strain international relations, and the propaganda campaigns of extreme imperialist circles.

The member states of the Warsaw Pact have already made numerous proposals to halt the negative tendencies and are still ready for mutual efforts to defend the achievements of detente and to improve peaceful international cooperation. We are aware that NATO's familiar decisions endanger the historic balance of power between the two military alliances and of achieving a superiority of power. For this reason, we are striving, first of all, to hinder through political means the implementation of their armament programs and to avoid another turn of armament campaign.

[ROSKA] Of course, the Warsaw Pact countries feel responsible for not only standing up against the negative efforts but also to working out suitable proposals for preserving peace, and to present a program for strengthening international security and continuing detente. They do this publicly, expecting the partisans of peace and the realistic forces of the capitalist countries to take as big a role as possible in the struggle against reactionary anti-detente forces and the efforts of the circles that have an interest in armament.

Undoubtedly, the main topic at the PTT imminent Warsaw meeting will be the breaking of the arms race. The main topic will be the affair of putting mid-range American missiles onto West-European territory. A suitable agreement must be made with reference to mid-range nuclear missiles. Conferences are possible to work this out but there is one thing that is necessary to begin the talks, namely, that NATO's decision to manufacture American

nuclear missiles and to employ them in Western Europe must be annulled or its implementation must at least be officially suspended.

[KARPATI] The introduction of the so-called Euro-missiles would upset the balance of military power in Europe, and this would mean the beginning of a new period of armament. This would be extremely detrimental to international political conditions. It would entail serious economic burdens and would create military tensions in Europe.

[CSEMI] The present period of peaceful coexistence and detente is based on a specified balance of military power. This balance was recognized just recently by NATO and the American leadership. If it is true--and it is--that the balance of power was an important guarantee for peace, then it follows that it should not be upset. For this reason, we must consistently fight politically and diplomatically to halt the arms race, as was also formulated at the 25th congress of our party. The objective is balance, but with fewer arms.

[ROSKA] The Warsaw Pact has not, and does not intend to abandon the realization of its earlier proposals serving the promotion of military detente. The proposals in question urge the states which signed the Helsinki agreement to sign a contract not to initiate between themselves a deployment of either nuclear or conventional weapons, to give up the use of violence--or threatening therewith--to make an agreement to guarantee the security of countries which have no nuclear weapons, and to continue the Vienna conference on disarmament and to make them more effective.

[Mrs. Papp] The success of the Madrid conference would greatly enhance detente and, precisely for this reason, we think it is especially important in the present strained international relations to provide the conference with a constructive atmosphere, for this is the only way to success. We are trying to make our Western partners understand that, in order to strengthen European security--which, in our opinion, is in the interest of all participating countries--we must agree, in the spirit of the Helsinki agreement, on the concepts the objectives of which are the strengthening of security and the improvement of cooperation. In my opinion, the most important thing is the success of the pan-European conference on detente and disarmament.

When a call for a European security conference was made in 1969 at the Budapest meeting of the PTT, the West-European states, and especially the NATO-members, reacted with little enthusiasm. It was the conferences and discussions that led us to the idea of a conference. We recognized its necessity, and the concepts and intentions of the participants became clear. The reaction of the West European states to the Warsaw Pact's proposal to call a conference on military detente and disarmament, is similar in many ways. After an initial lack of enthusiasm, their interest in the conference is preceivably increasing.

[ROSKA] I think that the imminent Warsaw meeting of the PTT will give the struggle for international security and peace an all-encompassing and detailed program.

[VARGA] Our country together with the countries of the socialist community and in spite of strained international relations, are going to continue on the road toward peaceful coexistence. To oppose armament policies, we will continue with our policy of detente to solve international problems through conferences and to improve our relations with countries of diverse social systems.

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CSO: 2500

POLISH WORK ON HISTORY OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE DISCUSSED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Mar 80 pp 26, 27

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Jaworowski, Polish historian, by Nicolae Mares: "A History of the Romanian People Written by a Pole for Poles"]

[Excerpts] A new work dealing with the history of the Romanian people, "Historia Narodu Rumunskiego" [The History of the Romanian People] was published recently in Poland. It is the second work of this type to be published in less than a decade (in 1970, another Polish historian made "Istoria a Romaniei" [History of Romania] available to readers in his country).

The recent work is by the well-known historian and cultural figure Mieczyslaw Jaworowski. As a result of its content, the work represents a remarkable contribution to the dissemination of the truth about the Romanians and their past. After presenting the geographic area in which the history of the Geto-Dacians took place and emphasizing the high level of the civilization of our ancestors--the creators of a strong independent and centralized state headed by Burebista--M. Jaworowski points out that the defeat of the Dacians by the Romans did not mean the end of the existence of this people but only the beginning of another stage in its history, one which will produce "a new ethnic and language community--the Romanian people and the Romanian language."

The author gave special attention to the formation of Romanian political groups in the 11th-13th centuries, stressing the unitary character of the process of political-state organization in all the territories inhabited by Romanians. A well-deserved place in the work is given to the reigns of some great Romanian voivodes. In regard to the reign of Mihai the Brave, the Polish historian says that the deeds of the great voivode became "a symbol and a testament for future generations who, in the following 300 years, have militated for the union of all the people in the historic boundaries of ancient Dacia."

The principal moments from the struggle of the Romanians for independence are present. The author does not omit the influences of external events

on the history of the Romanians. As a result of the Tsarist-Ottoman wars in the second half of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century and of the expedition of Napoleon in Russia--the author believes--the situation of the Romanian Principalities was aggravated and they suffered some serious territorial losses.

Stressing the importance of the revolutions in 1821 and 1848 and of the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, M. Jaworowski states that all these events prepared "the period of great and profound reforms which had as their purpose the elimination of many centuries of backwardness and the raising up of the country." After describing the great efforts of the Romanians in 1877-1878 for the achievement of absolute state independence, the Polish historian points out the democratic way in which the process of the building of the unitary Romanian state was concluded. The act of 1 December 1918, he states, "created new, broader possibilities for development and for social progress for the Romanian people."

The establishment of the Romanian Communist Party signified a "new, superior period in the history of the country," in the struggle of the Romanian people for social justice and national freedom. The anti-fascist war, the insurrection of August 1944, the contribution of Romania to the defeat of Nazi Germany, the implementation of the great revolutionary transformations in our country are presented in the pages of the book, with emphasis given to the special importance which the 9th, 10th and 11th congresses of the Romanian Communist Party had for the rapid and multilateral development of our country.

I had a short conversation with the author at the time of the publication of the book.

[Question] What prompted you to write this book?

[Answer] The history of Romani -Polish relations is rich. In the past, and especially in recent decades, important steps have been taken, both in Romania and in Poland, to study and learn about these relations. In Poland, works about the past of the Romanian people enjoy a special reception. This is natural when we consider the warm hospitality which many Poles received on Romanian soil during the difficult years of the war. These people are not only friends of Romania but are also the propagators of the most beautiful sentiments of esteem, respect and gratitude in regard to the Romanian people and its history. These old friends of the Romanians have had added to their ranks the great number of tourists and people on assignment to Romania who have visited your country in recent years, learning about its great beauties and the impressive achievements of the socialist period.

[Question] So your book appeared in answer to these increasing concerns.

[Answer] Undoubtedly it did. Through the book "The History of the Romanian People" which I published in 1979, I wanted to contribute to disseminating a most broad and most correct knowledge of the Romanian people. It is true that the excellent work of Prof Juliusz Demel appeared in 1970 but one book, even the best one, cannot satisfy all demands (a proof of this is the fact that the aforementioned book has been out of print for a long time).

I conceived a synthesis of the history of the Romanian people from ancient times to our days, with the aim of tracing the principal directing lines of this history. I confess that I have been guided, also, by the desire to note, in this manner, the two great and glorious anniversaries of the Romanian people: the centennial of the achievement of state independence and the 60th anniversary of the creation of the unitary national state.

[Question] What are the major coordinates of the work, what have you desired to stress, in particular, in this compendium of Romanian history?

[Answer] Naturally, I have stressed fundamental problems and aspects, or those which seemed to me to be fundamental, and about which confused opinions or a distorted understanding dominated in the past (and, in places, they still persist even today). I stressed the fact that the Romanian people is native and indigenous to the entire present territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania. This fact is evident to every honest scholar. Considering the fundamental importance of this issue, I tried to treat it as comprehensively as possible in order to facilitate an understanding of it and to implant it once and for all in the mind of the Polish reader.

Also, I tried to emphasize the phenomenon, which is truly amazing, of the survival of the Romanian people--I am referring, of course, to its national, cultural and political survival and not its biological survival--in the tumultuous period connected with the successive invasions of the migratory peoples on the territory of what once was Dacia, and not only at that time, a phenomenon which the French historian Ferdinand Lot called "an enigma and a miracle."

In the same context, I tried to stress the remarkable role which the Romanian lands had in stopping the Ottoman expansion, in defending Europe in the face of the strong pressure exerted by the Ottoman empire, and to present facts and instances which are little known or not known by the majority of Polish readers. I attempted to illustrate the dramatic character of this inequal struggle, stressing the mechanisms which, many times, led to antagonism between the heroic resistance of the Romanian voivodes to Ottoman expansion and the motives of the Polish kingdom which saw, at a given moment, the alliance with the Porte as a maneuver intended to counteract the expansionist tendencies of the other great powers.

I gave special attention to the struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania for their social and political liberation with a view to achieving their aspirations for national unity. I stressed the major contribution of the Transylvanian Romanians to the life of the entire people, especially to the awakening and formation of the national awareness in the 18th and 19th centuries.

I succeeded, I hope, in emphasizing another factor which I, personally, consider to be the second miracle of Romanian history--the fact that in December 1918, the Romanian people succeeded in implementing, under particularly hostile conditions, its great age-old ideal, for which it fought persistently: the unitary national state.

In the final part of the work, I pointed out the contribution of Romania to the anti-Hitlerite war and the fundamental transformations which have occurred in the life of the Romanian people, from August 1944 to 1977.

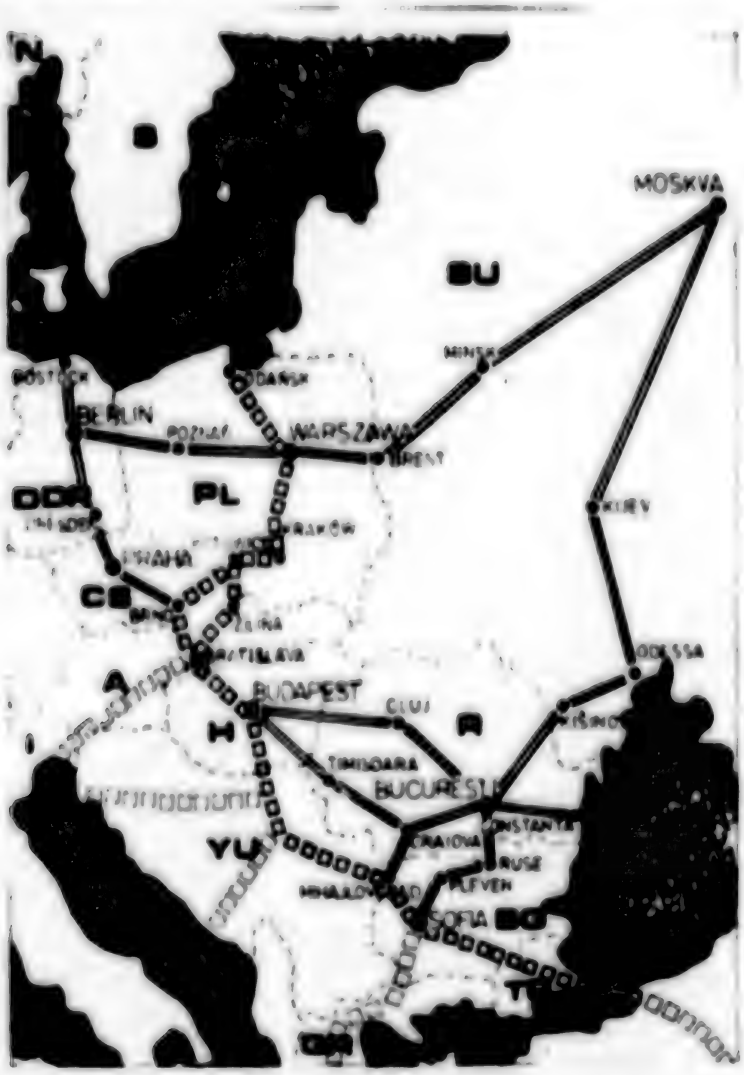
CSO: 2700

CEMA ROAD NET'ORK CONSTRUCTION REVIEWED

Bratislava NEDELNA PR.VDA in Slovak 25 Apr 80 p 18

[Article by Marek Ponikowski, INTERPRES. Translated and edited by jh: "Superhighways in CEMA"]

[Text]



9,122 kilometers of superhighways. Map of four superhighways of the CEMA program. Solid lines indicate planned roads A, B, C and D; squares indicate the "North-South" highway and its branches.

[Text] More than 9,000 km of highways by 1990--that is the program adopted by the member states of CEMA (Council of Economic Mutual Aid). It is the result of long-lasting research and studies of the development of motorization in the socialist countries, and the growth of tourism; and it is also an expression of the recognition of the growing role of road transportation in the movement of goods. There are many examples to show that superhighways, beside being the most expensive type of roads, belong among investments which return relatively quickly the funds expended.

The program of highway construction includes four planned roads connecting the capitol cities, ports and the most important industrial centers of the individual CEMA member countries, and at the same time it is also a part of the general European network of roads which in the future will make possible uninterrupted travel from Madrid to Moscow, for example, or from Stockholm to Istanbul without having any complex, "collision" intersections with other roads.

Planned Highway A

It is the shortest one: it represents 1,793 km of highways from Berlin to Moscow through Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Poznan, Warsaw, Brest, Minsk and Borisov. A part of the 218 km sector in the territory of the GDR is already in existence. In the USSR, in connection with the approaching Olympic Games in Moscow, some sections of the highway will soon be ready. On Polish territory the highway will measure 515 km; in the USSR 1,060 km.

Planned Highway B

Rostock-Berlin-Prague-Bratislava-Budapest-Bucharest-Constanta: the total length of the highway is 2,194 km. It incorporates the already existing sections of the highway from Rostock to Berlin (278 km) and Berlin-Dresden (170 km). After a 21-kilometer beltway around Prague, the planned road will join the almost completed highway from Prague to Brno and Bratislava (317 km). It will then continue across the Hungarian border to Gyor, bypass Budapest with a beltway and then continue to the town of Puspokladany and to the border of Romania. On Romanian territory it will pass through Oradea, Cluj and Sibiu to Bucharest and gradually up to Constanta at the Black Sea. In the individual countries highway sections of the following lengths will be constructed: GDR, 494 km; CSSR, 453 km; Hungarian People's Republic, 412 km; and Romanian Socialist Republic, 835 km.

Planned Highway C

It will be the longest: 2,790 kilometers of highway will pass through five CEMA member countries. Discussions of this planned highway naturally took most of the time during the preparation of the program of construction of the highway network in CEMA. Finally it was decided that in Poland it will go from Gdansk to Warsaw, then through Kielce, Cracow and Katowice up to the border of the CSSR. On the territory of the CSSR the planned highway will pass through Zilina, Povazska Bystrica to Bratislava and a

second leg from Katowice through Hranice to Ostrava, Brno and Bratislava. The connecting section to Budapest will be a part of the planned highway B (211 km). From the Budapest beltway the planned highway C will continue to Szeged. On the Romanian territory it then continues through Timisoara, Orsova, Turnu-Severin to Craiova; from there to the Bulgarian border and in Bulgaria through Vidin, Mikhaylovgrad and Botevgrad to Sofia. In Romania, as on the Polish-Czechoslovak border, the planned highway C will have a branch of 170 km which will serve as a connection to the planned road B in the vicinity of Budapest.

The part of the planned highway C which will pass through Polish territory will be the longest--860 km; 590 km will be on the territory of the CSSR part of which will be identical to the planned road B; and 393 km will be in Hungary. In Romania, the sections of the planned highway C would come to a total of 680 km, and in Bulgaria, 267 km.

Planned Highway D

Connects Moscow-Kishinev-Bucharest-Sofia and should measure 2,345 km, of which 1,753 km will be in the territory of the USSR, 251 km in Romania and 341 km in Bulgaria.

It is not difficult to suppose that two of the planned highways, B and C, are covered in their construction from other large investments in the roads of Central and Southern Europe, planned for the eighties--namely from investments in the "North-South" highway. This project originated on the initiative of Poland and Hungary and is included in the separate program of the United Nations. In addition to the two countries mentioned, another eight countries are involved. The "North-South" highway will connect Gdansk through Warsaw and Katowice, with two branches through Zilina and Brno to Bratislava, and then through Budapest and Szeged to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey. A branch of the highway will also lead from Bratislava to Udine in Italy, to Rijeka in the territory of Yugoslavia, or through another branch to the small port of Ploc between Split and Dubrovnik. From Bulgaria the branches would lead to Greece. The final destination of the planned "North-South" highway, measuring around 5,000 kilometers, is the Bosporus Straits but, within the framework of the project, planning is also in progress on a section of 4,000 kilometers on Turkish territory, which would also connect by highway the countries of the Near East.

The existing sections or those currently being constructed, among them Brno-Bratislava, the sections in the territory of Austria, or the Polish Cracow-Katowice highway, represent less than 10 percent of the total investments. According to the current discussions of the international administration of the project, seven countries which participate in it (beside the CSSR, Austria and Italy) would ask for financing from the development fund of the United Nations. Specialized European construction firms participate in the construction.

From the technical aspect, the highway will meet the requirements of the norms of the European Economic Council from 1974. It will be a dual highway with two lanes, each 3.75 m wide (in difficult terrain conditions 3.5 m), a dividing strip of at least 4 m, and grades to 4 percent (6 percent in the mountains). In justified cases the dividing strip might be used for possible expansion of the highway by additional lanes. The entire length of the superhighway will have a break-down lane with a minimum width of 2.5 meters. It was agreed that even in the first stage of construction, the highway must be equipped with parking areas and have completely safe traffic signs. These are perspectives which will delight every motorist.

9562
CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

RED CROSS, CRESCENT SEMINAR ENDS--Bucharest, 29 May, AGERPRES--The seminar of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies of the Balkan countries concluded in Romania's capital city. For three days the participants made an interesting and useful exchange of opinions and experience in problems regarding the training and activity of the R&d Cross and Red Crescent volunteer nurses who participate in the implementation of state programmes in various circumstances and according to each country's preoccupations and specific conditions. The participants expressed their wish that the Red Cross and R&d Crescent societies of Balkan countries continue the development of the bi- and multilateral exchanges of experience in this domain. The seminar took place in a friendly atmosphere of reciprocal esteem and respect, characteristic of the relations between the national societies of this part of the world. [Text] [AU291845 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1742 GMT 29 May 80]

ROMANIAN-YUGOSLAV HYDROTECHNICAL COMMISSION--Belgrade 26 May (AGERPRES)--The session of the Romanian-Yugoslave hydrotechnical commission for collaboration in waters utilization was held in Novi Sad. The session was a festive one as it marked 25 years since the signing of the hydrotechnical agreement between Romania and Yugoslavia, a period of productive collaboration between the two countries in the field of utilization of border waters, protection of their quality and fight against floods. [Text] [AU261517 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 26 May 80]

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LAW ON PEOPLE'S COUNCILS PUBLISHED

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, Dec 79 pp 67-82

[Text of Law on People's Councils, Law No 6068, of 24 December 1979]

[Text] The people's councils in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, successors to the national liberation councils which arose during the struggle for freedom and national independence, are organs elected directly by the people and, under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party, exercise the state authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat, relying on the creative initiative of the working masses and drawing them broadly into the governing of the country.

To specify the rights and duties of people's councils and their executive committees, in support of Article 67 of the Constitution, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolved:

Chapter I--General Principles

Article 1--The people's councils are organs of state authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat which practice governing in districts, cities, city districts, united villages and villages with the broad participation of the masses.

Article 2--The people's councils are guided by the Albanian Workers Party, which specifies the general line of their activity and systematically controls the practical implementation of this line.

Article 3--The people's councils, as the people's representative organs, direct and control in their respective administrative and territorial units all social life in the political, economic and cultural fields, in the field of national defense and preservation of the socialist juridical order according to the principle of self reliance, reconciling the local interests with the general state interests.

Article 4--The people's councils rely upon the masses and draw them into all of their activity, listen carefully and respectfully to their observations, criticism and proposals, implement the line of the masses and intensify it all the more.

Article 5--The activity of people's councils is under the continuous control of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and other workers.

The people's councils have the duty to organize and to encourage control by the working masses and to implement the most appropriate methods for the continual strengthening of this control.

The people's councils organize broad meetings with the working masses, where they give an accounting in a revolutionary spirit, above all, for important political, social, economic and defense problems.

Article 6--The people's councils are organized and conduct their activity on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, combining centralized management with the creative initiative of lower organs and the working masses.

Article 7--The people's councils in all their activity implement precisely the Constitution and the laws of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which express the will of the working class and the other working masses.

Article 8--The people's councils are composed of representatives who are elected by the people for a three-year term and who answer to them.

Elected to the people's councils are revolutionary people, relentless fighters for the implementation of the party line, who serve conscientiously and loyally the cause of the fatherland and socialism, are closely related to the masses, are tireless and daring workers, and are severe and uncompromising with enemies of the people and socialism.

The number of members of people's councils and the way in which they are elected are specified in the law on the election of people's councils.

Article 9--The people's councils function in districts, cities, city districts, united villages and villages which are created by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Chapter II--The Duties of People's Councils

Article 10--The people's council has these major duties:

In the political-administrative field:

Struggles to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and takes measures to improve the defensive capability of the fatherland, combats liberalism and bureaucratism and the other antisocialist expressions in order to stop any chance of the reestablishment of capitalism in our country.

Struggles for the further intensification of the ideological revolution, develops the class struggle without letup, in order to carry on the revolution in the fields of economics, technology and science, assuring the uninterrupted development of productive forces and the further improvement of socialist relationships in production on the revolutionary path, continually strengthening the links between the village and city and works to reduce the distinctions between them.

Resolves the requests and complaints of workers in a just and timely manner.

Takes measures for the recognition and implementation of socialist law, for the preservation of order and peace, for the protection of socialist property and the legal interests of citizens.

In Industry:

Takes measures for the further development, strengthening and modernization of industry, for the intensive utilization of the productive capabilities of enterprises, for the establishment of new lines, departments and factories and the improvement of the quality of products.

Takes measures for the collection and processing of agricultural and livestock products.

In Agriculture:

Takes measures for the further intensification of agriculture, for the full and harmonic development of extensive agriculture production, field crops, animal husbandry and fruit culture.

Cares for the further economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives and for the development and further intensification of cooperativist democracy.

Directs the protection, use and expansion of agricultural land area, forestry and water resources and irrigation and drainage works.

For National Defense:

Gives precedence to problems of defense, including those in all fields of its activity.

Takes measures for the preparedness of all military people.

Directs state civil preparedness to transfer government activity from peace-time to war-time conditions.

In the Planning Field:

Approves the plan for the development of the economy and culture. Follows, assists and exercises control for the fulfillment of tasks of the state plan.

Specifies tasks for the correct distribution of labor forces created in city and village.

In the Financial Field:

Examines and approves its own budget and the major financial indicators.

Examines and approves the budget of people's councils in lower slots, the financial indicators of enterprises and institutions subordinate to it and those of agricultural cooperatives.

Controls, analyses and follows the implementation of tasks in the field of finance, the growth of accumulation resources and the continuous reinforcement of the savings system.

Exercises control and takes measures for the protection and administration of socialist property.

In Construction:

Takes measures for the administration and most proper use of investments and fundamental buildings and for the conservation of construction land. Attends to the drafting of city regulation plans, approves the village regulation plans and resolves urban problems.

In Transportation:

Takes measures for the organization and welfare of transportation service, for the movement of freight and citizens, and for the preservation and maintenance of the highway and railroad networks.

In Commerce:

Takes measures for the development of state commerce, both in the city and in the village, for the uninterrupted supply of industrial and agricultural products to the population and for upgrading the quality of services.

In Communal Affairs:

Directs and takes measures for communal affairs and for the organization of services and repairs for the urban and rural population, for the administration of housing and the water supply, and for the maintenance of streets, parks, flower beds, etc.

In Education and Culture:

Directs the development of education, culture, science, physical education and sports.

Takes measures for the construction and maintenance of schools, nurseries, culture houses and hearths, cultural monuments and sports fields.

In Health:

Directs and organizes the work of taking prophylactic and hygienic, anti-epidemic and medical measures for the protection and strengthening of public health.

Attends to and controls protection of the environment from pollution.

Attends to the construction and maintenance of hospitals, sanatoriums, infirmaries, maternity homes and nurseries.

In Communications:

Assists and controls the posts and telecommunications offices to increase the readiness of communications and to improve the quality of post and telecommunications services.

Article 11--The people's council directs the activity of institutions, enterprises and organizations which depend on it.

The people's council guides, assists and controls the other institutions and enterprises as well as the agricultural cooperatives which operate in its territory.

Article 12--The Presidium of the People's Assembly, by special resolution, defines the specific duties of people's councils of various levels.

Chapter III--The Functioning of People's Councils

Article 13--The people's council carries out its duties at its meetings and by means of its executive committee and its commissions.

Article 14--The meetings of the people's council are called especially to take under advisement matters of a significant nature.

The people's council itself carries out these duties:

Elects from its membership and dismisses the chairman of the people's council.

Elects from its membership and dismisses the executive committee and its special members.

Elects from its membership and dismisses its permanent commissions and its temporary commissions.

Names and dismisses the heads of sections and offices of the executive committee.

Directs and controls the activity of the executive committee and the chairman of the people's council.

Approves the economic plan and the budget no later than one month following the approval of the state plan and budget by the People's Assembly.

Issues orders and decisions within its competency.

Selects the chairman and vice chairmen of the district people's court and selects the judges and the assistant judges for the positions left vacant.

The higher people's council, when dissolving the lower people's council, designates a temporary executive committee. During this time the duties which this people's council carried out are performed by the higher people's council.

The higher people's council can dismiss the executive committee of a lower people's council as well as the chairman of the people's council where there is no executive committee and order a new election for him.

The people's council invalidates the illegal and irregular acts of the lower people's council; it summons the people's court and the internal affairs organs and together with them and with the district procurator coordinates measures for combatting the causes of crimes and other violations of the law; it decides on the changing of boundaries of villages within the district and of city districts.

Article 15--The people's council directs and controls the activity of lower people's councils and their executive committees and invalidates the illegal and irregular acts of its own executive committee and of the executive committee of the lower people's council.

Article 16--The people's council meets in session whenever necessary.

The district people's council meets at least four times per year. The other people's councils, where there is an executive committee, meet at least six times per year. The people's councils, where there is no executive committee, meet at least 12 times per year.

The session of the people's council is called by the chairman at his own initiative or at the request of his executive committee, the higher people's council or at the request of one-third of the members.

Article 17--At the meeting of the people's council, matters which the people's council itself specifies, as a rule, are taken under advisement.

The preparation of meetings is done by the executive committee. For this purpose it cooperates with the chairmanship, with the permanent commissions, with the members of the people's council, and invites the opinion of the masses.

Article 18--The meetings of the people's councils are held with open doors, except on occasions when the people's council decides otherwise.

At meetings of the people's council, the managers of enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives can be summoned to give an accounting of their activity.

Article 19--The meetings of the people's council are valid when more than half the members participate in them.

The people's council decides by the majority vote of members present.

Voting is done openly, except when the people's council decides to do it secretly.

The decisions of the people's council are signed by the chairman and the secretary of the chairmanship of the people's council.

Article 20--The first meeting of the people's council is called by the outgoing executive committee or the chairmanship of the people's council (when there is no executive committee) no later than one month after the elections.

At the first meeting, after the approval of mandates, the people's council elects its chairmanship for the entire period of its mandate.

The chairmanship of the people's council consists of the chairman, one or two deputy chairmen and the secretary.

Article 21--The chairmanship of the people's council has these duties, in particular:

Attends to the meetings of the people's councils and prepares them when there is no executive committee.

Directs the meetings of the people's council.

In the period between two meetings of the people's council, directs the activity of permanent and ad hoc commissions of the people's council.

Takes care that the members of the people's council maintain regular contact with their constituents and give them an accounting of the work of the people's council and their work as members of the people's council.

By means of commissions, follows the implementation of decisions and orders of the people's council and acts of higher organs.

Activates the members of the people's council according to the apportionment of duties when there are no permanent commissions.

Follows the ideoprofessional education of members of the people's council.

The chairmanship gives an accounting of its work to the people's council.

Chapter IV--Members of the People's Council

Article 22--The member of the people's council is a representative and a servant of the people. He has these duties and rights:

To be just, courteous and sincere with the people and to serve them without exception with conscientiousness and honesty.

To maintain regular contact with the electorate and to give an accounting at least twice yearly regarding the work of the people's council and regarding his activity as a member of the people's council.

To evaluate the proposals, observations and criticism of constituents, to bring them to the meetings of the people's council and to maintain a principled attitude toward them.

To follow the solution of problems which the constituents submit to the pertinent organs.

To actively participate in the meetings of the people's council and of the commission to which he has been elected.

To struggle to implement the decisions of the people's council and the executive committee and to mobilize the masses to carry them out.

To maintain close contact with the people's councils at lower levels and to assist them in the performance of their duties.

To analyze the political and ideological content of legal acts and to struggle for their recognition and implementation.

To combat every alien expression which is inconsistent with the norms of the communist morale, such as the tendency for comfort, lack of the spirit of sacrifice, distain for production work, the placement of personal interest over the general interest, and to be incompatible with every expression of favoritism and nepotism.

To make at the meetings of the people's council questions and observations about the activity of the executive committee. The executive committee should respond to the questions of members of the people's council during the session.

To inspect the enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives and to require of them the precise application of socialist law.

The pertinent organs are obliged to examine the observations of the member of the people's council and to take the necessary measures.

Article 23--The people's council member enjoys immunity within the administrative-territorial unit of the people's council. He cannot be stopped, arrested or penally prosecuted without this immunity first being removed by the pertinent people's council during sessions, by its executive committee between sessions or by a higher people's council or executive committee, with the exception of cases when he commits a conspicuous and serious crime.

Article 24--The people's council member is responsible to his electors for his activity and can be removed at any time by them, when he has lost his political belief, when he fails to fulfill his assigned duties or when he acts in conflict with the law. The method of removal is specified in the law on the election of people's councils.

Chapter V--Executive Committees

Article 25--The executive committee is the executive and order-giving organ of the people's council.

The executive committee between sessions of the people's council exercises the rights and duties of the people's council, in all fields with the exception of duties which have been left at the competence of the meeting of the people's council.

Article 26--The executive committee is dependent on the people's council which has elected it and on the higher order-giving executive organs and is responsible to them.

The executive committee provides an accounting to the people's council, through reports and notices, for problems specified by the people's council, for his principle activity between meetings of the people's council, and for the implementation of decisions of the people's council. The executive committee submits for approval to the people's council its most significant decisions, as well as those of a normative character.

Article 27--The executive committee of the higher people's council annuls illegal or irregular acts of the lower executive committee and suspends those of the lower people's council, submitting the question of their annulment to the competent people's council.

Article 28--The executive committee performs these principle duties:

Takes measures for the implementation of directives and decisions of the party, higher state organs and its people's council.

Prepares the proposed plan and budget, presents them for approval to the people's council and follows their implementation.

Directs and coordinates the activity of its sections and offices, and that of institutions and enterprises under its purview. Likewise, guides, assists and controls the activity of enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives which operate in the territory of the people's council.

Directs and controls the activity of executive committees of lower people's councils and assists them in the performance of their duties.

Takes under advisement and resolves in due time the proposals of members of the people's council, as well as the requests, complaints, observations and proposals made by the masses with regard to state, social and personal matters.

Sets up commissions for various purposes and organizes and directs their work.

In the performance of its duties, the executive committee implements the line of the masses, profits from their experience, supports their initiative and cooperaties with the social organizations.

Article 29--The executive committees of district people's councils and their sections and offices have the obligation to work with the people's councils at various levels for the ideoprofessional education of council members, with the goal that they perform their assigned tasks in all fields of life as well as possible.

Article 30--The executive committee reaches decisions and issues orders at meetings also for the implementation of laws and dispositions of higher organs.

Article 31--The executive committee consists of the chairman, the vice chairman, the secretary and members. The executive committee of a district people's council consists of 9 to 15 members. The executive committees of people's councils at other levels, where they have been established, consist of 7 to 11 members. The chairman, vice chairman and secretary are included in the number of members of the executive committee of the people's council.

Article 32--At people's councils where there is no executive committee, the people's council as a whole decides on all matters under its purview. At these people's councils, the chairman, vice chairman and the secretary direct the activity of the administration of the people's council, implement the decisions of the people's council and the decisions of higher organs of authority and state administration.

Article 33--The executive committee meets at least once a month. The meetings are valid when more than one-half the members participate in them. Decisions are reached by the majority of votes of members present.

Article 34--The executive committee is selected for the entire term for which the people's council has been elected. At the expiration of the term for which the people's council has been elected, the executive committee or the people's council (where there is no executive committee) continues to perform their duties until the first meeting of the new people's council.

Article 35--Sections and offices attached to executive committees are created to direct the work in various sectors and are subject to the people's council and the executive committee, the respective section or office of the executive committee of the higher people's council and the respective ministry. The sections and offices insure the implementation of laws, orders and decisions of central organs, decisions and orders of the people's council and its executive committee and settle matters which enter into their activity. The sections and offices prepare material for the people's council and for the executive committee.

Article 36--Workers who are not members of the executive committee or the people's council are named to head sections and offices.

Article 37--The heads of sections and offices have the right to issue orders and instructions within their competency. Their orders and instructions can be cancelled by the people's council, the executive committee, the head of the section or office of the executive committee of a higher people's council and by the pertinent ministry.

Chapter VI--The Commissions of People's Councils

Article 38--The people's council, as necessary, creates the permanent and temporary commissions for various sectors of its activity and specifies its composition. The permanent commissions are attached to district people's councils and to people's councils with a large number of members. The people's councils with a small number of members divide tasks among members. These councils are assisted in their activity by social activists. All members of the people's council participate in the commissions, with the exception of members of the chairmanship of the people's council and the executive committee. The chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries are chosen by the commissions. The commissions work according to a work program and meet no less than six times a year. The commissions may participate in meetings of the executive committee when matters which enter into their sphere of activity are examined. The commissions are accountable for their activity to the people's councils.

Article 39--The commissions assist the people's council and the executive committee to fulfill their tasks. The commissions have the following duties:

Assist in the preparation of the proposed plan and budget.

Assist in the implementation of decisions of the party and higher state organs and decisions of the people's council and executive committee for their sectors and take necessary measures to avoid shortcomings.

Control the activity of sections and offices of the executive committee, enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives, seek the taking of measures for the fulfillment of the plan and the avoidance of shortcomings and submit problems to the people's council or the executive committee.

Undertake studies of various problems at their own initiative.

Participate in the study and preparation of materials which are presented at the meetings of the people's council. The executive committees provide them with the pertinent material and draft decisions in due time.

Make proposals on various issues to the people's council or to the executive committee. The people's council and the executive committee take these proposals under advisement.

Check at enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives on the resolution of proposals made by the masses and organize consultations with them.

To implement these tasks, the commissions draw the workers into their work and cooperate with the mass organizations.

Article 40--Law No 4352 dated 23 December 1967, "On People's Councils," and Decree No 4441 dated 23 September 1968 are cancelled.

Article 41--This law goes into effect 15 days following its publication in GAZETA ZYRETARE.

Tirana, 24 December 1979
Law No 6068

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Telo Mezini

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Haxhi Lleshi

5658
CSO: 2100

LAW ON ADMINISTRATIVE TRANSGRESSIONS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, Dec 79 pp 144-149

[Text of Law on Administrative Transgressions; Law No 6070, 25 December 1979]

[Text] With the aim of implementing in the activity of state organs the policy of the Albanian Workers Party on the proper combination of the method of persuasion and the communist education of workers with strict administrative measures, for the continual defense and strengthening of socialist juridical order, guided by the principle of the prevention of violations which form administrative transgressions, based on Article 67 of the Constitutions, at the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Repbulic of Albania resolved:

Article 1--The Council of Ministers, the ministries, the other central institutions of state administration and the district people's councils have the right to issue dispositions whose violation constitutes an administrative transgression. The lower organs of state authority and state administration do not have the right to issue dispositions to cover the administrative transgression when dispositions of higher organs exist.

Article 2--The penalties provided for administrative transgressions are a) social reprimand; b) fines. Other administrative measures can be provided by special disposition, such as revocation of one's license or health booklet, confiscation of articles which served in the commission of the transgression, etc.

Article 3--As an administrative penalty, a fine may be provided in the following amounts in the acts issued by: a) the Council of Ministers, up to 500 leks; b) ministries and other central institutions, up to 300 leks; c) district people's councils, up to 100 leks.

Article 4--The penalties for administrative transgressions are levied against every responsible person who is over 15 years of age and who has committed a transgression intentionally or through carelessness. Penalties for administrative transtressions are not levied against enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives or social organizations but only against their workers.

Article 5--A state organ which has the right to issue dispositions whose violation forms a transgression can provide that members of the People's Police or other specifically assigned workers can fine the transgressor on the spot with a fixed sum not to exceed 10 leks.

Article 6--Upon discovery of an administrative transgression, except when an on-the-spot fine is provided, the members of people's councils, members of the People's Police, the public procurators and other persons assigned by special disposition prepare an official report in which the identity of the transgressor and the type of administrative transgression are noted. The official report is signed by the preparer and by witnesses present, when available.

The official report held by members of the people's council or by the public procurator is forwarded immediately for adjudication to the state administration organ through the people's council, while the official report held by members of the People's Police or by other persons assigned by special disposition is forwarded by them directly to the state administration organ.

The forwarding of the official report to a court is done in accordance with the decree on the courts of villages, cities and city districts.

The members of people's councils, members of the People's Police, the public procurator and other assigned persons rely on the active assistance of the working masses in the detection of of administrative transgressions.

Article 7--The examination of an administrative transgression is made within one month from the date of detection, but no later than three months from its commission. Examination of the administrative transgression can not be made after this term has elapsed.

Article 8--The adjudication of administrative transgressions is done by the courts of villages, cities and city districts, according to the law on the courts. When it has been provided by special disposition that adjudication of the transgression is to be done by the state administration organ, the examination is made according to the dispositions of this law.

The composition of the state administration organ which examines the transgression is specified by the disposition covering the administrative transgression.

Article 9--The state administration organ in whose territory the transgression was committed is competent for the examination of the administrative transgression.

The state administration organ which discovers the transgression, if the examination can be done more easily, has the right to forward the official report to the organ of the transgressor's place of residence. A conflict of competencies is not permitted.

Article 10--Examination of the administrative transgression may be done both in the presence and in the absence of the transgressor, on the basis of the official report when it is verified that the transgressor has been notified and does not have justifiable causes.

When the state administration organ deems it reasonable, the examination of the administrative transgression can be done in the presence of the collective at the work center or residents of the village or neighborhood where the transgressor works or lives.

Article 11--The question of compensation for damages caused by the transgressor is examined along with the administrative transgression, without it being necessary to present the request personally, when this is provided by a special disposition.

Article 12--In the selection of the type of penalty and in the fixing of the amount of the fine, the state administration organ which examines the administrative transgression should take into consideration the circumstances, the seriousness of the violation committed, the transgressor's attitude at work and in society as well as his personal and family status.

During the examination of the administrative transgression, if the transgressor should happen to admit his fault, show sincere repentence, making a self critique, and it is estimated that the educational goal of the judgement has been met, the state adminstration organ has the right to dismiss the charge and to decide on compensation for damages.

Dismissal of charges can also be effected at the request of the workers' collective or the social organization.

In the penalty decision, besides the identity of the transgressor, a record is made of the violation committed, the penalty accessed, the obligation to repay damages and the objects taken. The penalty decision may be forwarded to the transgressor's work center for publication before the collective, as warranted.

Article 13--The penalty decision may be appealed to the next higher organ of state administration within five days from the proclamation of the decision or notification, when the transgressor was not present during the proceedings, or when a protest is lodged by the procurator. When an appeal or protest has been made, execution of the decision is suspended until they are examined.

The state administration organ which examines the appeal or protest decides either to let the decision stand or to change it or sets it aside and examines the case itself within one month from the date the appeal or protest is introduced.

Article 14--When the fine and compensation for damages are not paid in the time period fixed, they are withdrawn by the enterprise, institution or organization, being withheld from the pay of the worker or employee, from the remuneration of an agricultural cooperative member or from any other income of the transgressor. When the transgressor is unemployed, the fine and payment for damages are drawn on the basis of the law on the withdrawl of state funds. The fine is credited to the budget of the people's council of the united village, city or district of residence of the transgressor, whereas payment for damages accrue to the benefit of the damaged party.

Article 15--Execution of the sentence of a fine begins on the day the sentence is fixed and ends within one year.

Article 16--Two years from the date of sentencing for an administrative transgression, the transgressor is considered cleared.

Article 17--Sentences of higher fines provided by special dispositions of the Council of Ministers, ministries and other central institutions and district people's councils, and which were issued prior to this law, are lowered to the amount specified in Article 3 of this law.

Article 18--Decree No 4379, dated 13 April 1968, "On Transgressions," is cancelled.

This law goes into effect 15 days following its publication in GAZETA ZYRETARE.

Tirana, 25 December 1979
Law No 6070

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania	Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
Telo Mezini	Haxhi Lleshi

5658
CSO: 2100

FISHING ACTIVITY REGULATED BY LAW

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, Dec 79 pp 150-153

[Text of Law on Fishing, Law No 6071, dated 25 December 1979]

[Text] The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with the goal of implementing the orientations of the Albanian Workers Party for the protection and development of fishing activity, on the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, at the proposal of the Council of Ministers, resolved:

Article 1--The fish, mammals, mollusks and every living creature which grows and develops in the interior waters as well as within the territorial waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are property of the state. The protection of this resource is the obligation of every citizen.

Article 2--The management and organization of fishing activity in the territorial water and interior waters, such as lakes, ponds, rivers, canals, reservoirs and fish hatcheries, is conducted by the Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry and the executive committees of district people's councils.

Article 3--The Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry has the right: a) to specify technical and scientific measures for the protection and growth of reserves of ichthyic resources; b) to make a subdivision of zones and to specify the dimensions of nets and the fishing seasons for fishing enterprises, agricultural enterprises and agricultural cooperatives which engage in the protection and catching of fish; c) to prohibit one or more methods, means or locations for fishing, as well as fishing for one or more types of fish.

Article 4--Personal professional fishing and mussel harvesting permits are issued by the directorates of district fishing enterprises. Fishing without a permit can be done only by fishhook, with the exception of locations where organs of the Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry establish temporary or permanent restrictions.

Article 5--Foreign citizens and juridical persons are prohibited from carrying out professional fishing in all internal waters and in the territorial waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 6--In order to protect the country's ichthyic resources, the following are prohibited:

a) Fishing with poisonous or explosive substances of any type (dynamite, bombs, unslaked lime enclosed in various containers, air rifles and other such articles), as well as with poisonous plants;

b) Alteration of the water system, cutting vegetation, as well as other modifications in the beds of fishable lakes, reservoirs and rivers, without the approval of the Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry;

c) Disposing of poisonous substances as well as dumping industrial and mineral waste, when they constitute a danger to underwater life and to the various fishing installations;

ç) Fishing by individuals, groups and fishing brigades at fish hatcheries, reservoirs, canals which link the sea to fish traps when they are open, in specified areas adjacent to fish traps when they are closed, and at fishing sites or areas where temporary or permanent restrictions are established, as well as during closed seasons;

d) Fishing with bottom nets along the entire seacoast at depths set by special disposition;

dh) Fishing by an individual with nets, fish traps, trawing nets baskets or other such devices.

Article 7--The authorized workers of fishing and forestry enterprises, the People's Police organs, members of people's councils and fishing inspectors, upon detecting amateur or professional fishermen with prohibited fishing devices in the fishing areas, collecting mussles or fishing at prohibited times, locations, ways or means, have the right to demand their personal fishing permit and identification papers and to prepare an official report about the violations observed. The violator, following these proceedings, is obliged to surrender any fish or mussles caught and his fishing gear to the nearest fishing center.

The official report prepared on the observation of the violation is forwarded immediately, according to dispositions on administrative transgressions, to the fishing inspector for adjudication.

Article 8--The violation of regulations stipulated by letters b, c, ç and dh of article 6 constitutes an administrative transgression and is penalized by the fishing inspector by a fine up to 500 leks and by seizure of the fishing gear and any fish or mussles caught, whereas the violation of regulations stipulated under letters a and d of article 6 is punishable according to the Penal Code.

The transgressor who conceals his fighing gear or uses the fish caught is obliged to pay compensation when their seizure is decided by the inspector.

The decision of the fishing inspector may be appealed within five days at the industry section of the executive committee of the district people's council, which makes the final decision.

Article 9--The Fishing Inspectorate is created for the protection of ichthyic resources.

Article 10--Decree No 4293, dated 31 July 1967, "On Fishing," is cancelled.

Article 11--This law goes into effect 15 days following its publication in GAZETA ZYRETARE.

Tirana, 25 December 1979
Law No 6071

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Telo Mezini

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Haxhi Lleshi

9698
CSO: 2100

WARSAW PACT DELEGATE IN BULGARIA INTERVIEWED

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 6 May 80 p 3

[Interview of Colonel General Khachik Ambaryan: "Brothers in Arms"]

[Text] The editors of the periodical DNES I UTRE invited in their "Interesting Encounters Club" the representative of the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact members to the Bulgarian People's Army, Colonel General Khachik Ambaryan.

[Question] You have fought in the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. How did your combat career begin and what is the most memorable time in your life?

[Answer] I received my higher baptism in the very first battles. Those were difficult times. In the hot August days the infantry company I commanded had assumed defensive positions in the area of Rogachov, in Bellorussia, repelling the fierce attacks of the German-fascist conquerors. After receiving reinforcements, we counterattacked. The fascist who could not withstand our strike retreated and we liberated Rogachov. This was the first offensive combat in which I participated.

I also remember the storming of Koenigsberg, the fortified city. At that time I was commanding an infantry regiment. The battle for the city lasted over four days. The fascist troops defended each house and district with the ferocity of the doomed. However, they were unable to oppose the courage and pressure of the Soviet forces. The regiment captured the fort and several city districts. It was awarded the Order of Suvorov for its successful combat operations, while I was awarded the highest award of the homeland--the Order of Lenin.

The war left a number of unforgettable memories. There were days of heavy loses and of happiness for the liberation of native cities. The happiest day, however, was Victory Day, whose 35th anniversary we are

currently celebrating. I will never forget the victory parade. We marched across Red Square by Lenin's Mausoleum at whose base the flags of the defeated Hitlerite forces were thrown, with tremendous excitement and pride in the communist party and the Soviet people. To this day I remember the solemn reception in honor of those who participated in the victory parade, organized by the Soviet government. To this day I have preserved the invitation.

[Question] Tell us about the contribution made by the Soviet army to the strengthening and development of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact.

[Answer] The Soviet army is one of the equal participants in the joint armed forces and is the base of their combat power. The tremendous experience, powerful nuclear missile potential, and military skill of the personnel of the Soviet armed forces are a reliable guarantee for the security of the socialist countries and a powerful means for the prevention of a new world war.

Cooperation between the armed forces of the USSR and the armies of the fraternal socialist countries is expanding and intensifying with every passing year. The directions and forms of such cooperation are varied: coordination of plans for the development of the armed forces, joint measures for operative and battle training, reciprocal aid in the field of technical support of troops and navies, cadre training.

The Soviet armed forces generously share their experience with their friends. At the same time they willingly borrow from them anything that is new and effective in the training and upbringing of the troops. Thus, enriching ourselves reciprocally, we are aspiring toward an overall upsurge of the battle readiness of the joint armed forces.

[Question] Comrade General, for many years you have represented the supreme command of the joint armed forces to the Bulgarian People's Army. What is your impression of the Bulgarian People's Army and what is its contribution to strengthening peace on the Balkans and in Europe?

[Answer] As a result of the fast growth of the economic power of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and thanks to the tireless concern of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian government and the selfless aid of the Soviet Union and its armed forces, the Bulgarian People's Army has become a modern socialist army with high level combat readiness. Holding a proper position in the battle order of the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact, it is steadily improving its combat capability and is thus implementing the behest of Georgi Dimitrov of always studying from the rich combat and peaceful experience of the Soviet army.

Today the Bulgarian People's Army is supplied with most modern weapons and military equitment. This has brought about qualitative changes in

the various arms and services and has increased the striking and fire-power of units and large units.

The personnel are the base of the combat readiness of the army and navy. All privates, seamen, and sergeants are now properly educated people; 85 percent of the officers are members of the BCP. Over 68 percent of them are with higher military training. Therefore, the Bulgarian People's Army is a modern armed force and a reliable defender of its socialist homeland and of the peaceful toil of the people. This is a fact which the enemies of peace, democracy, and socialism cannot ignore.

These impressions enable me to believe quite confidently that the Bulgarian People's Army, together with the Soviet army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact members, is worthily carrying out its historical mission of strengthening peace on the Balkans, in Europe, and thoughout the world.

9003
CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

KUBADINSKI IN SHUMEN--On 27 May in Shumen the "Summer 1980" youth brigades' campaign was festively opened. The celebration was attended by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. [AU280956 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 27 May 80]

AWARD FOR FRENCH AMBASSADOR--Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council, yesterday presented the "Madarski Konnik" (Madara Horseman) decoration to Christiane Malitchenko, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of France to Bulgaria; this high award is being conferred on her for her contribution to the development of Bulgarian-French relations and on the occasion of her imminent, final departure from our country. The ceremony was attended by Boris Zvetkov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [AU280956 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 May 80 p 2]

BRITISH BUSINESSMEN VISIT SOFIA--Sofia, 27 May (BTA)--The business talks with a 21-member-strong delegation of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of London began here today. In the course of 6 days the representatives of leading British companies, who arrived here yesterday, will meet Bulgarian business executives. As it was noted at the plenary sitting today, the goal of the British businessmen is to study the new possibilities of cooperation opened up by the Eighth Five-Year Plan of Bulgaria. Underlined was the steadily growing interest in the British economic circles in Bulgaria's economic potential and regret was expressed at the same time that certain circles in Britain are raising political obstacles before the business contacts of the two countries. [Text] [AU271608 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 27 May 80]

SOVIET COOPERATION PROTOCOL--A protocol on the 20th session of the permanent working group for cooperation between the Ministry of Machine-building and the Soviet Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machinebuilding has been signed in Sofia. Matters connected with the development of heavy machinebuilding in Bulgaria and the reconstruction of subprojects of the Lenin and Kremikovtsi metallurgical combines were also discussed. [Text] [AU212045 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 May 80]

HEALTH COOPERATION WITH MALTA--Sofia, 21 May (BTA)--Bulgaria and Malta will develop cooperation and exchange experience in the field of health care and medical science to the effect of a steady improvement of the health of their peoples. This is featured in the agreement signed today by Mr Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health of Bulgaria, and by Mr Vincent Moran, the Maltese minister of health and environment. The two sides agreed to encourage the exchange of experience on the problems of organization of health care and its management, the prophylaxis and hygiene and epidemiology agencies, health education and use of medical equipment, installations and medicines. Besides this, direct contacts will be established between the health institutions and organizations, specialists and doctors will be exchanged for consultation. Cooperation will also extend to the questions of education and postgraduate qualification of health workers, exchange of textbooks and pedagogical experience. [Text] [AU212045 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 21 May 80]

LENINGRAD-VARNA AIRLINE OPENED--The Aeroflot and Balkan airlines will sign an agreement in Leningrad today on transforming the Sofia-Leningrad line into an exemplary one as regards services to passengers and into a "line of friendship." Flights from Leningrad to Sofia started 10 years ago, while the Leningrad-Burgas line opened shortly after that. The Leningrad-Varna line was inaugurated only 1 day ago, with the flight of a TU-150 aircraft. [AU230915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 23 May 80]

FILIPOV'S ACTIVITIES--A celebration marking the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the party organization was held at Doyrentsi village, Lovech Okrug, tonight. Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was one of those attending the celebration. [AU230915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 May 80]

LEADERS AT KURPACHEV COMMEMORATION--A celebration marking the 37th anniversary of the murder of Khristo Kurpachev, a legendary partisan and commander, has been held in Lovech. Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Vladimir Bonev, BCP Central Committee Secretariat member and chairman of the National Assembly; Georgi Ivanov, the first Bulgarian cosmonaut, and others attended the celebration. Petur Balevski, first secretary of the Lovech Okrug party committee, read a letter from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to those present in which Zhivkov praised the heroic deeds of Kurpachev. [AU242042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 23 May 80]

KOMSOMOL MEDAL TO ZHIVKOV--The Komsomol Central Committee has presented jubilee medals and diplomas to state and economic leaders as well as to workers dealing in the technical and scientific creativeness of youth, on their contribution to the movement for the technical and scientific creativeness of youth and in connection with the 10th youth's national review. Comrade Todor Zhivkov was presented with diploma number 1 and

a jubilee medal. Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, and Nacho Papazov, BCP Central Committee Secretariat member and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, attended the ceremony. The awards were presented by Georgi Tanev, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary. [Text] [AU242042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 23 May 80]

TANCHEV TO AUSTRIA--Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, left for Austria today to attend an international forum on "A Dialog on Disarmament and Detente," which was summoned at the initiative of the international forum for relations with the peace-loving forces included in the 30th Coordinational Committee for Peaceful Cooperation. [AU242042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 May 80]

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH NETHERLANDS--Sofia, 23 May (BTA)--Here visiting Dr J. Zijlstra, president of the Central Netherlands Bank, was received today by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria. During the talks a wish was expressed for the expansion of the economic, trade, bank and financial cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [AU242042 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 23 May 80]

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON WATER TREATMENT--Sofia, 20 May (BTA)--"Effective Methods and Installations for the Treatment of Domestic and Industrial Waters" is the subject of the international symposium which opened here today. For three days experts from the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Bulgaria will exchange information on scientific achievements in the treatment of waste waters. Problems of the mechanical, physico-chemical and biological treatment of waters used in the light, food and chemical industries, in livestock breeding and in towns and villages will be examined in more than forty reports. The opportunities for utilizing the sediments of the various types of domestic and industrial waste waters will also be discussed. [Text] [AU210915 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 20 May 80]

ATANASOV IN KYUSTENDIL--A 2-day conference with the secretaries of the BCP okrug committees on ideological issues connected with a transformation of the ideological and educational work of the primary party organization has ended in Kyustendil. Milanka Grozdanova, secretary of the okrug party committee in Kyustendil, read a report on ideological work in the primary organization of Kyustendil Okrug. Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, delivered a closing speech. [AU210915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 May 80]

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM--An international symposium opened in the "Druzhba" resort near Varna today. It is organized by the Bulgarian State Committee on Science and Technical Progress and by the World

Organization of Intellectual Property attached to the United Nations. About 20 reports will be read at the symposium dealing with the issue of licenses in handing over new technological methods and innovations. Representatives from 25 countries from all continents of the world are attending the conference. Academician Lyubomir Zhelyazakov read a greetings address on behalf of the government. [AU272231 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 May 80]

CSO: 2200

MITTAG'S LEADERSHIP ROLE, RELATIONS WITH FRG ANALYZED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 17, 18 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki datelined Berlin, April: "How Much Space Still Remains Between the Blocs? Honecker's Emissary to Bonn--In Spite of International Tensions, the GDR Also Does Not Want To Let the Inner-German Dialogue Break Off"]

[Text] There have been visits by senior GDR functionaries often in the past in connection with the Hannover Fair. But the fact that such a high-carat man as Politburo member Guenter Mittag is going on from Hannover to Bonn and is meeting there the Federal chancellor as well this week--that is something quite new in the history of inner-German relations.

Of course, it is no accident that such a meeting should take place just now. The cooling off of East-West relations in the wake of the Afghanistan crisis has forced a postponement for the time being of the talks between Federal Chancellor Schmidt and SED chief Honecker, which were planned for this spring. Both sides wanted to avoid the impression that they would be chatting away by the all-German fireside, completely unaffected by the world situation, while their respective alliance partners were baring their teeth. In this respect, the less spectacular trip of Guenter Mittag to Bonn by all means can be viewed as a substitute for the canceled meeting of Schmidt and Honecker--even though this trip was planned at a time when Schmidt still had the intention of traveling soon to the GDR.

The fact that Guenter Mittag is coming to Bonn for such a top-level talk, whereas hitherto it was mostly the Bonn ministers who traveled to East Berlin or Leipzig, shows also on which side the predominant interest lies in this meeting. The GDR is faring very badly with respect to its economy. Increasing raw-material and energy prices, growing armament burdens, and insufficient progress in productivity have put it into a situation where it is dependent on receipts of West German marks even more than hitherto.

As U.S. President Carter curbs trade with the Soviet Union and expects something similar from his allies, it has been impressed upon the GDR leadership more clearly than before how important to it is this inner-German trade and the numerous agreements between Bonn and East Berlin which have been generating foreign exchange. Therefore, Guenter Mittag's visit to Bonn is aimed not only at salvaging these relations in as intact a condition as possible over the coming months, but even at expanding them as unobtrusively as possible.

A Noteworthy Career

The visitor from East Berlin has had a noteworthy career. And judging by his experience and deportment, he is certainly that man in the SED Politburo with whom Western political figures such as the Federal chancellor and economics minister Graf Lambsdorff, who are down-to-earth and have an eye to efficiency, can converse the easiest about East-West relations. "He speaks to the point without ideological clouds," says an expert observer.

Since the death of the Honecker protege Werner Lamberz and the illness of Hermann Axen, Guenter Mittag has been the leading functionary having the most experience with the West. For years now, he has been attending to not only the internal development of the GDR economy. In trips which have taken him to Japan and France, he is also looking after the development of economic relations with the non-communist industrial countries. Mittag enjoys not only the confidence of Honecker; he also has a good reputation in Moscow. Only in the time following the transition from Walter Ulbricht to Erich Honecker had there been silence concerning him. Many observers believe that it was the Soviets above all--5 years after Ulbricht's supersession--who saw to it that Mittag could occupy his old office again.

Guenter Mittag, born on 8 October 1926 in Stettin, was an employee of the GDR railroad at the end of the war, at the age of 18. He straightaway joined the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] (from 1946 on, the SED), and he worked at first in the union of railroad men. Up to 1951 there are gaps in his personal history; it is possible that he was in Moscow for a rather long period of schooling. In any case, he then worked his way up rapidly; at the age of 27 he was already a departmental head in the Central Committee of the SED.

In June 1962, at the age of 35, Mittag became secretary for the economy in the party apparatus, and with that one of the most influential economic functionaries in the SED. Then came the years of the formulation, adoption, and failure of the "New Economic System," from which Walter Ulbricht and many economic functionaries had expected a more flexible planning system. Most of the theoretical writings on this reform work were composed by Mittag together with the head of the State Planning Commission, Erich Apel.

When this reform work got watered down and the Soviet Union overtaxed the capacity of the GDR economy with its import requests, Apel put a bullet into his head on 3 December 1965 in his office. Here, Guenter Mittag was more flexible. He took part also in the so-called second stage of the new system and later the "Economic System of Socialism"--both of which were withdrawals from the dream of a socialist economic system which was to be largely self-regulating by way of "economic levers."

In September 1966, Mittag became a full member of the SED Politburo and was now quite high up on the ladder. But it seemed as if his elan had waned, even though he did not let his disappointments show. Later on he once said that nobody has the liberty of taking his own opinion as a yardstick and under the cloak of its scientific character of "sidestepping the main orientation of the party." That was meant for the training of scientists, but it also sounded like the balance-sheet of Mittag's personal experiences with the "New Economic System."

When in October 1973 Horst Sindermann, on whom many hopes were placed at that time, became the chairman of the Council of Ministers as the successor to Willi Stoph, Mittag left his secretarial post in the Central Committee and became Sindermann's deputy. That was not necessarily a step upwards. Because the Council of Ministers is an executive organ; the decisions are made by the party apparatus. Werner Krolokowski, an inveterate dogmatist, became secretary for the economy. Three years later, the two men exchanged posts: Mittag again became secretary for the economy, Stoph again chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Krolokowski his deputy. If Willi Stoph, who has been ill for a long time, should be superseded some day, Krolokowski probably has the better chances of becoming his successor and thus becoming the second man in the State. But also Mittag has gained in importance. This is shown by his appointment as member of the Council of State last year.

Economy in Trouble

The task of Guenter Mittag is like that of a captain who is supposed to steer a ship with low-powered motors and a stuck rudder in a rough sea through the reefs. The GDR's economy has its hands full, even in normal times, to absorb frictional losses, correct planning errors, and stimulate growth. For some years now, it has also had to bear the additional burden of rising raw-material prices and corresponding trade deficits. For the crude-oil imports from the Soviet Union alone, the GDR must now spend annually 4.5 billion valuta marks more than it did in 1971. The policy of the SED, which is focused nevertheless on keeping prices stable for basic foods, charges, and services, requires a subsidy expenditure of more than 16 billion GDR marks.

The SED leadership is making all kinds of attempts to cope with this malaise. It is placing its hopes in rationalization, modernization,

accelerated technical progress, organization of industry into combines, and in increasing its exports and curbing imports. It is doubtful whether this will really bring the desired alleviations. In any case, it would be unfortunate for the GDR if the relations to the FRG which are so helpful to its economy were to go on the rocks because of the international tensions.

The governments in Bonn and East Berlin have been hastening to complete negotiations for the new transport facilities agreement; it is to be signed some time this month, even before the FRG decides about an Olympic boycott. For the building of the freeway passage near Wartha/Herleshausen, the double-tracked expansion of the Berlin-Helmstedt rail connection, and the enlargement of the Mittelland Canal, the GDR is receiving DM 500 million, and this sum is in addition to the already agreed-on payments.

For a lump-sum transit charge, freeway construction, expansion of waterways, removal of rubble, debris, and waste water, and for sundry smaller items, the GDR is receiving approximately DM 1.3 billion from the public budgets of the FRG in 1980. Added to that are receipts difficult to quantify from visitors' and tourists' traffic (about DM 300 million); from prisoner releases and reunions of families (about DM 130 million); as well as the benefits from the interest-free overdraft credit of DM 850 million (interest savings of around DM 80 million).

Now, all of this would not necessarily be endangered if East-West relations should freeze further. Much of it rests on long-term contracts, and most of these lie in the interests of the FRG as well. Because it is apparent now more than ever that inner-German agreements and economic relations have become a close-meshed network which cannot be torn apart easily even in times of crisis.

The FRG is the second-largest trading partner of the GDR. This year, inner-German trade will reach a volume of over DM 10 billion. In the GDR, there are dozens of industrial plants which have been built by West German and West Berlin firms and for which also additional spare parts are needed. Among these are chemical and steel works, foundries and granulation plants, fiberboard and furniture factories, meat combines, and many others.

The GDR would like not only to maintain these connections, but to further develop them. It looks as if the power plant [illegible]t proposed by the GDR is playing a key role in this connection. [illegible]would like to purchase a brown-coal power plant from the FRG. F[illegible]one thing, such a power plant could help to electrify the railway in East Germany and thus save on diesel oil and coal. Secondly, the power plant is to be paid for through supplies of current to West Berlin--and it really looks as if for the first time the GDR government is ready for this reason to establish an interconnected electricity supply system between West Berlin and the FRG, which the insular city needs so urgently.

In February, Federal Chancellor Schmidt rejected negotiations over this and other projects for the time being, because to him the time did not seem suitable for these projects. Western observers speculate that Guenter Mittag will now speak to him about this once again. Undoubtedly the realization of such a project, which is certain to be costly, would be highly promising to West Berlin, and at least the opportunity should be taken to get it down in writing on a list of subjects for negotiation.

A second pressing problem is the clearing credit in inner-German trade, the so-called swing. It has lost its original purpose of giving both sides leeway for short-term fluctuations in deliveries and purchases. Long ago it was debased into a pure credit at preferential terms for the GDR. Therefore, repeated attempts have been made to reduce this swing. In the first half of this year, negotiations will be renewed concerning a "recovering"--that is, a reduction--of the swing as of 1982. At present, such negotiations can be only at the expense of the GDR; therefore it will be interested first of all in shelving such recovery talks. And the Federal government as well will first wait until the elections are over.

On Thin Ice

Both sides are thus skating on thin ice. It seems as if the GDR wants to utilize to the utmost the slight room for maneuvering which it has in the Eastern Bloc. In doing this, its government does not feel quite at ease. The other Eastern-Bloc countries are viewing the special German-German relationship--which seems to be more stable than detente policy--with a mixture of envy and suspicion. Now and then, GDR diplomats intimate how happy they would be if their socialist brothers could be convinced that the entire socialist camp would profit from trouble-free relations between Bonn and East Berlin.

The Federal government finds itself in a quite similar situation. To be sure, the Americans have affirmed that only the Soviet Union, and not the other Eastern-Bloc countries, was to be affected by trade curtailments and boycott measures. But an ostentatious expansion of economic relations between the two German nations would not go over well at the very least among the American public. Thus, the Bonn talks between Guenter Mittag, economics minister Lambsdorff, and Federal Chancellor Schmidt are mostly trial balloons and mutual assurances of good will--without spectacular upshots. Both sides must first wait and see how the East-West relationship develops in the coming months.

12114
CSO: 2300

PARTY COMMITTEES CHANGES PLANNED

Joint City-District Committees

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 3, Mar 80 pp 44-47

[Text] Before every congress the leading organs of the party consider whether it is necessary to implement changes in organizational structure and the system of party direction and adopt appropriate resolutions in these areas. Accordingly, the Political Committee considered a number of questions related to the organizational structure of the party and the system of party direction at its 11 December 1979 session. Below we will discuss the resolution regarding the establishment of city-district party committees.

Consideration of Social Changes

In 1978 the Political Committee approved, on an experimental basis aimed at gaining some experience, the establishment of joint city-district party committees in Berettyoujfalu, Fehergyarmat, Kormend, Lenti, Mateszalka, Mezokovesd and Siklos. The idea was not new because in 1961 the Political Committee already gave its permission to megye committees to consolidate the party committees and apparatus of district and city committees at district centers. The aim was to make leadership more effective operationally and to increase the number of social activists participating in party work. Such steps were indeed taken in several megyes; the consolidated party committees were mainly the city and district committees at the megye seat.

Under the conditions of the time this initiative was unsuccessful in practice. This is because at that stage in social development the tasks of the two party committees were quite different. The political, organizational and educational activities of district party committees at the time centered on the completion of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the strengthening of cooperative farms, selection of their leadership, startup of their operations, providing cadres and specialists and the establishment of party committees in cooperatives. They were responsible for the political direction of more then 3000 village councils, the development of council activities and the satisfaction of demands arising in the areas of commerce, public catering and services. City party committees, on the other hand,

were preoccupied with industrialization, the creation of related infrastructure and providing for the social, cultural and other needs of the local population.

The social and economic development that has taken place since then exercised an enormous influence on districts. District councils no longer exist. Local administrative units were organized on the basis of new conditions. The number of village councils declined by about a half. Joint village councils and large village councils were created. The incorporation of villages into neighboring cities or their annexation under city jurisdiction has started.

Cooperative farms became significantly stronger and their size also increased. A number of cooperatives operate over lands under the jurisdiction of several villages. The majority became the strongest economic unit within their communities; their members enjoy good material conditions and improving social amenities.

The industrialization of the provinces accelerated following the Eighth Party Congress. New industrial plants were built in industrially backward or underdeveloped towns. This has strengthened urbanization and the movement of labor into the towns, thereby leading to more rapid development of towns. At the same time another trend became visible: many plants of industrial enterprises of the cities were moved to larger villages.

General urban development was not yet the order of the day at the beginning of the 1960's. Many megyes had only one or two cities. Since then, the urban network has developed substantially. A number of communities achieved city status in the last 2 decades. The number of cities increased by 10 between 1960 and 1970 and by 23 between 1970 and 1980. Their number increased from 50 before the liberation to the current 96. For example, 5 new cities were established in Szabolcs-Szatmar megye, 4 each in Pest and Somogy megyes and 3 each in Vas, Borsod and Tolna megyes. At the same time, the number of cities has not changed in Csongrad megye since the liberation. Only one new city has been establihsed in each of Hajdu-Bihar, Heves and Szolnok megyes. This had a substantial effect on surrounding villages in terms of political, economic, cultural and social factors. In addition to traditional relations, new requirements arose with regard to job creation and supplies.

Today there are 35 cities that are not district seats; 22 district seats are large villages. The majority of the latter will sooner or later become cities, according to long range development plans. Another new fact of urban development is the emergence of large urbanized villages near new cities where the life of the population has undergone important changes.

Development of the Network of Settlements

Some of the new cities have no specific traditions. They are just now undergoing the true process of becoming a city. At the same time, concentrated industrial construction has increased their political and economic role as

well as their influence on the surrounding countryside. The number of industrial workers increased rapidly in cities and districts as a result of the establishment of new industrial plants. The growth of the number of city residents was accompanied by a growth of the number of commuters: in some areas their proportion reaches 50 percent. Further growth of the population of cities is to be expected, although this will be slowed by the development of urbanized large villages and improvements in transportation. As a result, the population of several towns is expected to reach 20,000 to 25,000 only very slowly or not at all.

Changes in economic foundations and social processes require integration of some state and social organization on the city-district level. This led to the establishment of organs with jurisdiction over the city and the district: law enforcement, justice and financial organizations, people's control, workers' militia, etc. Experience shows they have no difficulties in carrying out their tasks over the area of the city and the district. Their jurisdiction is legally clear; the occasional difficulties in leadership they encounter can be explained in terms of subjective factors.

There have also been some substantial changes in the organizational structure of the party. Party committees have been established on the village and factory level. Geographical concentration of cooperatives created the conditions for full-time secretaries of local party organizations. The majority of party organs have been strengthened and are doing a good job in providing political leadership. Sixty-five to ninety percent of local party organization is under their direct leadership. This means that the number of party organizations directly under the control of district party committees declined substantially. For example, only 7 local party organizations in the Nyirbator district and 4 in the Szigetvar district are run in this manner.

A quasi-permanent day-to-day working relationship exists between city and district party committees as a result of the progress of urbanization. They are interdependent. Recognition and solution of shared problems and difficulties form an organic part of their day-to-day work. They are doing a great deal toward reducing differences between the city and the country and the coordinated development of product supplies, transportation, services, health, education and cultural opportunities. In many places they work on plans for cooperation and hold joint sessions to debate important tasks of social and economic policy. Willingness to cooperate can reduce problems but is unable to provide a true solution, i.e., does not eliminate the objective causes of the duplication of tasks. Rational use of needed material resources requires conscious development, thorough analysis and unified leadership.

Favorable Experimental Results

These observations were taken into consideration when the Political Committee examined the work of the experimental city-district party committees. Based

on the experience of megye party committees the experiment was judged a success and the new organizational structure was accepted. The Political Committee approved the establishment of additional city-district party committees in Baranya, Borsod, Gyor-Sopron and Szabolcs-Szatmar megyes.

It may be stated that, in spite of the problems and difficulties of reorganization, the joint party committees were able to implement the resolutions of the 11th Congress and follow party policy in the various areas of social and economic life. Megye party committees paid especial attention to the activities of city-district party committees and their differentiated direction. They helped these party organs in all areas to formulate and apply working methods suitable for the new situation.

Unified political leadership and the organizational changes created suitable conditions for coordinated work toward city and village policy goals by eliminating the often rigid distinctions between city and district matters. Financial resources are used more sensibly. There have been further improvements in supplies in the area of commerce, health and education. There are fewer layers of direction; as a result, the content of work improved. The preparation of political decisions is more thorough and well-founded; therefore, these resolutions are more concrete and are more suitable for specific conditions in the cities and surrounding districts. Implementation and control have also become simpler.

This new form of direction concentrated resources in all areas. More systematic cooperation between cities and districts has an effect on the work of various institutions. In this sense, the effects of the work of institutions heretofore under city jurisdiction (trade schools, secondary schools, health institutions, houses of culture in the cities) can be considered successful everywhere.

In the case of villages situated next to cities we no longer have the situation where economically they belonged to the city but politically they were part of the district. Joint development of such communities and the city is now better provided for; internal reserves can be found more successfully. Party committees are able to obtain more thorough and concrete information on the political and social activity of commuting workers at their workplace and their residence. The direction of such activity also became simpler and more effective. Party organizations find it easier to become acquainted with and evaluate assignments at the workplace and at home; they can also better judge the work of party members. Political and cultural events and movement actions became more meaningful.

The establishment of city-district committees improved the direction of party organs. Leadership, help and control of base organizations adapted to the character and operational condition of those organizations became more thorough. Secretaries of base organizations can be better prepared for their specific tasks.

There have also been substantial changes in the organizational structure of city-district party committees. The system of 3 secretaries has worked well. The assignment of tasks within the apparatus has been modernized and fits the work well. The work of task and area representatives is more flexibly adapted to requirements. The circle of social activists working in the villages benefited from the influx of well-trained workers from the cities.

The consolidation of party committees had a positive effect on cadre work and personnel shifts based on performance. The composition of bodies and working committees underwent a qualitative improvement due to the availability of a larger pool of well-trained cadres. Former members of bodies who have not been reelected received new assignments in the leadership of base organizations.

The party direction of state organizations has also been strengthened as a result of simplification and increased efficiency. Multi-layered coordination has been done away with; the various types of joint session, joint representation at meetings and other gatherings have become superfluous. This not only freed some of the working hours of the leadership but also contributed to more unified party direction.

The Necessity of Developing Working Methods

Alongside with encouraging experiences, there are some problems awaiting a solution. Thus, some departments of megye party committees failed to adjust to the new situation; their work habits are not sufficiently in step with the new structure of the apparatus. There are also wide divergences in the work of the leadership of city-district party committees as regards the preparation and control of the apparatus. Megye councils are not always able to pay sufficient attention to unified urban development guidelines when they distribute financial resources. Coordination of the structure of mass organizations and movements is less than complete. For example, the operation of separate city and district committees of teachers' and medical-health unions is hardly justified. These problems attest to the necessity of considering the consequences arising from the new organizational structure on every level.

The Political Committee considers this experiment completed. It agrees with the strengthening of joint city-district party committees as a new organizational form and encourages its further expansion. Its recommendation for megye party committees is to form joint city-district party committees in district seats that become cities in the future. As in the past, megye party committees must be very careful in future reorganizations. Reorganization is especially advisable in cities that are true centers of their district, are situated in a way that enables them to play such a role, where the urban and economic structure of the city and district justifies joint direction and this is in line with future development plans.

Although the organization of further city-district party committees would in itself be justified, this is not an opportune moment to do so everywhere. This is due in part to the geographical distribution o. urban settlements and the lack of true regional centers.

The resolution adopted by the Political Committee at its 11 December 1979 session also took a stand on issues where the practice of recent years was different; it also took steps to eliminate certain formalistic aspects of party direction. These points of the resolution will be discussed later.

Establishment of Guiding Party Organs

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 5, May 80 pp 25-28

[Article by Dr Istvan Latos, head of subdepartment, MSZMP Central Committee: "Changes in the System of Leading Party Organs"]

[Text] In this year's issue No 3 of PARTELET we reported on the portion of the 11 December 1979 resolution of the Political Committee dealing with the work of city-district party committees. In this article we will consider those portions of the resolution that are aimed at the formulation of a unified practice of party work and improvement of leadership and control in certain areas. Their importance is indicated by the great emphasis paid to these questions, albeit indirectly, by the 12th Congress.

Sector-Oriented Party Organs

The July 1973 resolution aimed at the development of the work of city party committees made it possible to establish, on an experimental basis, a number of party leadership organs to direct specific base organizations under the direct control of city party committees in Miskolc and Debrecen. In 1974 the Secretariat expanded these experiments to include primary and secondary schools, commerce, services and health in all 5 cities with megyestatus. Party leadership organs were also established in these locations to coordinate base organizations of residential areas. In 1977 the Secretariat evaluated these experiments and decided to finalize the party organs charged with the direction of party organizations of teachers and to permit the establishment of more of them. In many areas, however, the provision of the resolution only in large cities was ignored. Preparations for establishing such party organs were started in small towns where the number of base organizations of a similar character did not require such measures. The chief aim was to reduce the load on the apparatus of city party committees.

The Political Committee resolution adopted in December of last year created a unified situation in this regard. In the future, creation of such organs of party direction will be indicated in cities where the number and weight of educational, service, cooperative or commercial units and their party organizations justifies it in the interests of developing political leadership and control activity. Experience shows that they are able to provide direct, effective assistance bo base organizations and create a true relationship with the technical leqdership. Nevertheless, the Political Committee permitted the continued functioning of sector-oriented party organs only in megye seats and districts of the capital because this is where the right conditions exist. Of course, it is necessary to consider which areas

require party leadership organs and which ones need the operation of a party committee. In view of the fact that the only clear experience obtained thus far concerns the activities of party leadership organs in directing local base organizations, the party committee of District 11 in Budapest received permission to create a party committee to coordinate such organizations on an experimental basis.

Appropriate care is required in the establishment of sector-oriented party leadership organs even in places where permitted by the resolution. No one should be guided by considerations of "offloading" 5 or 10 directly controlled party base organizations, let us say, and even less by an attempt to increase the number of full-time party workers. Where possible, it is sensible to assign secretarial tasks on a volunteer basis. The basic aim is not to create a superfluous layer but to establish a leadership organ that can provide real assistance to base organizations. Therefore, establishment of new sector-oriented party organs will continue to require permission by the Secretariat.

Party Organs in Large Industrial Enterprises

In recent years so-called intermediate party committees have been established in certain large enterprises between the enterprise party committees and base organizations. These provided direct leadership of base organizations operating in individual plants and factories. Their establishment was due to the increase in party membership and the number of base organizations. Yet, their establishment was based, in the final analysis, on a misinterpretation of the organizational code. According to the organizational code, in every enterprise and plant "a party committee must be elected under the direction of local party organizations whenever the number of party members exceeds 200." After a while the party organizations that gave permission for the establishment of intermediate party committees realized that unless these operate within an independent economic unit, the work of enterprise party committees and the party committees of subordinate factories will involve superfluous duplication and repetition. Since there existed no economic leadership at the level of the intermediate party committees with independent decisionmaking authority, their work in the economic sphere often became a mere formality. In fact, the intermediate party committees could merely repeat the positions and resolutions of the enterprise party committee. In many places a decision was made to eliminate them.

The Political Committee considered these experiences when it decided that intermediate party committees should be established only in those units within a single geographical location of a large enterprise that qualify as an independent legal entity or a unit with independent accounting where it is possible to coordinate political and economic activity on the same level. Where this is not possible, existing ones must be eliminated and replaced by party leadership organs charged with direct guidance of base organizations. Appropriate care is required in implementing this point of the resolution, keeping in mind that the fundamental goal is to make direction more effective and to provide more direct and concrete assistance to base organizations and their activities.

The execution of the resolution of the Political Committee has begun. The experience shows that certain questions require more detailed attention. First of all, views to the effect that party leadership was "weakened" in the most important area of production as a result of this resolution must be considered incorrect because they ignore the real situation. There is no field of activity where it is desirable to have forms of direction without proper assignment or jurisdiction, included between base organizations and party forums that are truly in charge, just to give "status" to individual organs or to provide a formal framework for the work of activists. For this reason, some local party organs should be applauded for preventing the establishment of "party committees for central offices" in large enterprises based on the article of the organizational code quoted above. Without an appropriate assignment, the intermediate forms of organization make party work more cumbersome. With the increase in leadership organs there is an inevitable increase in the number of resolutions, additional time lags will occur in the presentation, organization and execution of political resolutions and in the flow of information. Practical experience shows that organized coordination of the work of base organizations within enterprise units can be done by party leadership organs.

The party intends to eliminate superfluous and formalistic forms of direction. For this reason it must be pointed out that, although the Political Committee resolution deals only with the situation of the party organs of large enterprises, a similar practice is advisable also in other areas.

Improvement of the Political Direction of Villages

With the implementation of the March 1972 resolution of the Political Committee there has been substantial progress in the work of village party organs and base organizations. A similar process has taken place in the political activity of party organizatons in cooperatives. A suitable organizational framework for their operations has emerged. While there has been an improvement in the content of the work of village and cooperative party organizations, certain practices emerged in some megyes within the country which run counter to the territorial-enterprise principle of direction set forth in the organizational code. Cooperative party organizations recently took over the direction of political activity and local base organizations in more than 80 villages, although in most of these the conditions were suitable for the establishment of village party committees or leadership organs. The chief reason for the emergence of such a practice is the spreading of a "status-oriented" attitude. The leadership of supervising party authorities thought that the cooperative provides better opportunities for a full-time secretary since they are able to call on more financial resources. In order to get this through, in some places they eliminated operational base organizations of the village or reclassified them as mixed cooperative-village base organizations.

The Political Committee considers this practice incompatible with the organizational principles of party direction and disapproves of it. Therefore,

its resolution requires megye party committees to form village party committees or leadership organs wherever the right conditions exist and to assign the task of directing the political life of villages to these party organizations. The resolution also underlines the need to ensure that independent local base organizations should function in all locations where village party organs cannot be established.

In the implementation of this resolution one must not lose sight of the fact that it does not change the provision of the 21 March 1972 Political Committee resolution to the effect that, if village political activity and village councils cannot be brought under party direction in any other way, then it can be placed under the direction of the cooperative party organization.

Permanent Working Committees

Permanent working committees may function in major areas of party work under the direction of party committees to assist in the work of party bodies. The system of working committees expanded in recent years and their number increased. At present the majority of such committees provided valuable help in the work of party committees. In the course of investigations and consultations preceding the Political Committee resolution several proposals were made to further expand the system of working committees, to eliminate some of them or to change their field of activity.

The Political Committee examined these proposals and decided on this basis to give its permission to operate working committees not mentioned in prior resolutions in certain areas in accordance with specific aspects of these areas. On the other hand, it disagreed with proposal to subdivide certain working committees into subcommittees. At the suggestion of megye party committees it revoked the provision of its 3 July 1973 resolution which required the establishment of working committees on urban policy. This was because their work turned out to be merely formalistic and their activities largely duplicated other working committees. In many places there were difficulties right from the beginning in trying to separate the tasks of the working committees in urban and economic policies. The problems were exacerbated by the fact that a system of working committees dealing with urban policy was simultaneously established within council organs. Thus, the initiative of megye organizations to settle this question was fully justified. Beyond organizational aspects, the Political Committee resolution calls attention to improving the work of committees and eliminating formalistic aspects from their work. Incidentally, this was already taken into account when the working committees were reelected.

Alongside with the questions mentioned, the Political Committee dealt with the lessons of the operation of the council of party secretaries established within agrarian industry associations. Their work thus far was judged successful and the present form of their direction is to be preserved.

In the course of the preparation of this resolution the Party and Mass Organizations Department of the Central Committee conducted repeated discussions with party committees of Budapest and the various megyes. Proposals were coordinated with the appropriate departments of the Central Committee. It is very important to ensure that execution is also characterized by the same cooperation. This is all the more necessary because the complexity of certain organizational questions or, to put it more precisely, their wide-ranging implications, require that we proceed carefully by coordinating our measures. This applies especially to the satisfactory resolution of related personnel questions.

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PARTY YOUTH COMMITTEE INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH SITUATION

Editor's Introduction

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1980 pp 4-13

[Interviews with Gyorgy Fejti, Janos Gosztonyi, Tibor Halay and Istvan Kortvelyes, members of MZMP KB Youth Committee by Kalman Antal, Zsuzsa Birta, Endre Erdos, of the IFJUKOMMUNISTA Editorial Staff, dates and places not given]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], the leading force of our society, is facing a reckoning and the setting of tasks which affect all of us. The experiences of the preliminary steps already taken, the membership meetings and party conferences indicate that, as part of the responsible work, the questions about our party's youth policies, the youth's situation and judgment, and the activity of the KISZ will no doubt be emphasized at the 12th Congress. Our reporters visited well-known public figures, to make a contribution in collecting the experiences of the past 5 years and in determining the future tasks of the youth policies by publishing their opinion. All of those interviewed played and are playing a significant role in youth's education. Some were national leaders of the youth organization right after the liberation and later, after the counterrevolution, took part in the reorganization of the KISZ; some played a significant part in the KISZ events of the most recent past. Their present activity also connects them in various ways with the life, work and study of youth, and judge young people from various viewpoints: some as the chief of the national authority that is especially concerned about youth, some at a key position of direct production, and some as leaders of the scientific research on the living and working situation of youth. There is, however, a common point in their connection with youth, which was the basis of inviting them to an imaginary table to exchange their ideas, namely, that all of them are members of the MSZMP Central Committee's youth committee.

The participants of the discussions were Gyorgy Fejti, deputy chief of the MSZMP Central Committee's department of party and mass organizations and secretary of the Central Committee's youth committee; Janos Gosztonyi, member of the MSZMP's Central Committee, state secretary of education; Dr Tibor Halay, deputy director of the MSZMP Central Committee's Sociological Institute; and Istvan Kortvelyes, state prize winner, director-general of the Chemical Combine of Borsod. The editor's office was represented in the discussions by Kalman Antal, Zsuzsa Birta and Endre Erdos.

Youth Will Have Larger Role

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1980 pp 4-6

[Interview with Gyorgy Fejti, deputy chief of the MSZMP KB Department of Party and Mass Organizations and secretary of the KB Youth Committee]

[Text] [Question] What is characteristic of the social division of labor developments realized in the education of youth between the two congresses? What are the most important results? Which are the weak points that still exist today?

[Answer] The social division of labor serving the education of youth is not a task that is possible to solve once and for all, because its essence and forms, just like the educational goals themselves, are constantly changing. This does not exclude, however, the selection and analysis of a certain period. The past few years had both good results and shortcomings.

To begin with the good results, the first statement should be that it is not a question for debate anymore whether or not such a division of labor is necessary. Moreover, this labor division's main framework of meaning and organization has already been developed in the continuous improvement of the youth's living and working conditions and in the improvement of the conditions for studying, education and sports.

Common responsibility has significant achievements in government work. The legal codification of this activity has been stabilized and implemented, its meaning was significantly broadened and enriched, and its financial basis was improved. Of course, here too, there are some unfavorable developments. The danger of narrow-mindedness arises from time to time. I will quote only one example to show what I mean by this. The system of youth vacationing, youth tourism and cultural benefits has been developed, which is based primarily on a single financial source, the so-called central youth fund. This solution was justified at the recognition of the demand, and it made modest but fast measures possible. However, the initial interim form is baginning to be conserved. Thus, the right measures of that time are slowly hindering more thorough and extensive solutions.

There was also a significant step made forward in the youth work in mass organizations and mass movements, although still mainly in those areas which have tasks that are common with those of the youth league. I could name the movement of work competition or the safeguarding of interests or the mass sports movement--these are all activities in which the unions take part in close cooperation with the KISZ to educate the youth. Development is more modest in those forms of work in which independent responsibility in the youth's education, inherent in the characteristic profile of one or another mass organization, is directly manifest as well. It is still a future task to work these out.

Aside from all this, it is also worthy of attention that it seems that we have in the past years slightly overemphasized the general responsibility of society in the education of youth. This has the consequence that the role and responsibility of the family in the physical, spiritual and moral development of youth is somewhat neglected. Thus those social norms, which would stress a more decisive implementation of the family's educational responsibility, have not developed or have not become strong enough. Yet, the family's standards of values and moral norms are often decisive for life.

Onesidedness also originates from this, namely, that we do not stress enough the responsiblity of the individual towards his own life.

I close the list of our problems with the fact that the greatest deficiencies emerge in the work of youth in the residential districts: its meaning has not been worked out and its organizational framework has not been developed. Contrarily, there are more and more such justified demands that can better be met at the residential scene. I am only making a reference here to the apartment complexes of our metropolitan areas and to the fact that both young and elder people, who are open toward and active in the community, are quite unreachable at their residence. I do not think this is primarily their fault, it is not that they are indifferent toward making their residential environment homier and toward caring for it, but the organizing force and the institutionalized forms--more simply, "the watering-can and the shovel"--are missing. But I could have mentioned club space and possibilities for sports as well when referring to the problems of using free time.

[Question] Socialist national unity is created by the collective implementation of the various interests of social groups of various characteristics. How, and to what extent, have the interests of youth been implemented in the last period? What justified demands have not been met, which is causing significant tensions among the younger age groups?

[Answer] Youth itself does not have a homogeneous system of interests. Age and the place occupied in the social division of labor cause differences also within the interests of youth. I think that the situation is relatively good in the exploration, recognition and negotiation of interests. And I add that, relative to society's load-bearing capacity, youth's interests as a whole are being adequately felt. This means--and means only-- that there is no significant problem that would arise from

another age group's emergence in the foreground in a certain question, to the disadvantage of youth. Why is the situation then, still not free of conflicts? Because, for example, young people, quite understandably, often do not gauge their demands to the realities of today or tomorrow but to the day after tomorrow, and they do not want to let themselves be influenced by the limitations of our economic possibilities.

Another source of tensions is the differentation of social strata that still exists. The youth's sense of right and wrong is especially keen, and I myself consider this an important social achievement of ours. And young people--recognizing the existence and increase of the room for social movement--do sense that studying, career planning and establishing independent family life still depend on many conditions that are nothing to do with individual talent or diligence but are the consequence of family background.

Conflicts are created also by our weakness that many problems and justified demands, which are possible to solve locally, are not being solved because of bureaucratic administration, or their solution is taking too long because of their unjustified forwarding to higher instances.

[Question] How can these conflicts be eliminated?

[Answer] Above all, by a constant dialogue with youth about the harmony between demands and possibilities and about the order of priorities among the realistic demands. This joint thinking is necessary where young people live and work in larger numbers.

It also helps to eliminate conflicts if more attention is paid to problems that can be dealt with locally and if individual problems are dealt with more humanely. I do not believe pan-social interests will lose their priority if we say that we must be more sensitive toward the problems of the individual, and must strengthen the safeguarding of individual interests.

In my opinion, helping young people to acquire their homes must be on the top of the national priority list dealing with youth as a whole. I would like to emphasize here the correctness of endeavors which--also based on a larger individual sacrifice by young people--seek the development of a programable, step-by-step model of solving the apartment problem. The present practice of apartment distribution, and the attitudes arising from it, do not, for the time being, encourage this. Young people are often interested not in the step-by-step solution--considering the size and degree of comfort of the apartments--but in conserving their own bad living conditions until the permanent, "until-retirement" solution presents itself. This is understandable, for accepting the temporary solution will at present often lead further away from, not nearer to, the permanent one.

I find the opinion of those justified who, in seeing the problems of young people who are building from their own resources, urge for improving the conditions for this activity which is socially significant, and miss, among other things, an adequate material supply and background industry.

Another endeavor to be supported--the champion of which is now the KISZ--is to find materials and technologies that are different from the traditional individual constructing methods. If the experiments will be successful, then the new method must be subsidized by the government and must be propagated right away.

The next item on the priority list is the further improvement of the conditions of children's education. This is followed by the justified demand regarding the cultured recreation of young people. This is a problem involving the younger age groups, and the solution must be found in a different functioning of our institutional system, which better follows the interests in and demand for recreation of young people.

[Question] The work committees of the party committees' youth policies were already "running" in this cycle of conferences. What experiences did they gain?

[Answer] The system and the practice of the functioning of these work committees have indeed developed. We are not planning to institutionally expand them toward the lower-level party committees. We think it can be decided locally whether or not such forms of work help the youth-policy work of the party committees in the cities, boroughs and districts. But we are not thinking of narrowing them either. For the fact that youth-policy work is an integral part of the work of party organs at the megye level, does not mean that the activity of these work committees is superfluous. Their main task is still to direct, help and control the local realization of youth policies. To corroborate this, let me refer to their very important and continuous task of coordinating the labor division present in the education of youth.

On the other hand, aside from the fact that the big questions of the life of youth appear as part of the party's general policies, there is an increasing need today for exacting our knowledge regarding individual strata or groups of young people, and for a more detailed definition of our tasks.

[Question] In the documents of the party forums that take a stand in the work of the KISZ, the demand for increasing the youth league's mass influence is a recurring element. Why did this question become emphasized? What do you suggest or advise the KISZ organizations should do to carry out this party task?

[Answer] This demand is not new. The demand for increasing mass influence always appeared hand-in-hand with the tasks connected with the strengthening of the KISZ's communist political character and organizational discipline. I still agree with the formulation that the increase of the KISZ's mass influence is being emphasized more today. The reason for this is that it is today perhaps even more important than before for the KISZ to propagate the goals and tasks, as defined by the party, to as large a mass of youth as possible.

We are facing many tasks today the solution of which require well-founded and high-quality know-how, new approaches, and a bold breaking with familiar forms. We can state with justification that the major part of youth is qualified for meeting the increased demands, in which youth, its organization and the KISZ will play a larger role in the future. Thus it is in the interest of not only the youth but of society as a whole to give an opportunity for youth to put their training and preparation to use as soon as possible.

The other half of the question is difficult to answer with a general recipe. This much is certain: a sensible and attractive program of activity must be provided for youth. And this makes it necessary for the KISZ to put its program and forms of activity even more in harmony with the interests and training of the youth's various strata. I note here that, according to my experience, the KISZ was more successful in this than in the differentiation according to age groups. For this reason, I think that, by maintaining the intensity of the attention toward the differences between the strata and the so-called micro-strata, the youth league must pay more attention in the future to the differences between age groups in developing the essence, management and--what is not being mentioned as often today--the organizational framework of its work.

In the final analysis, the KISZ is attractive where and when its program is centered around questions that are really interesting to the youth. This is the basis for political influence, and the quantitative organization, which is especially timely amongst the working youth, may also be improved on this basis.

Perspectives for Youth

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1980 pp 7-9

[Interview with Janos Gosztonyi]

[Text] [Question] What do you think our society's opinion of youth is, nearly 10 years after the MSZMP Central Committee's resolution of youth policies and 5 years after the 11th party congress?

[Answer] According to past experience, the society's opinion of the youth is ever-changing. Some fashions or trends might emerge among the youth from time to time, resulting in an emphasis of one or another aspect of the opinion. In my opinion, it is still valid today what the various party documents and resolutions say about judging the youth, namely, that the absolute majority of our youth is honorably carrying out its duties, and it is working, studying and getting ready for life. This statement does not exclude, of course, that there are some among the young people--just as among older people--whose behavior is condemnable, who are loafing and avoiding work, and who do not study or work. To be more concrete, the matter of these hippies of the underground passages has in recent times stirred public opinion a little. It is also true that juvenile delinquency has increased in certain categories and the so-called "szipozas"

is more widespread. There are, then, always some older people who say, "well-well, you see, the young generation is this and that, in our time, to be sure..." These are, however, opinions based on bad generalization and are false at any rate. These extremes are insignificant when compared with the behavior of youth as a whole.

[Question] Thus the earlier positive opinion of the youth as a whole is still valid today. But precisely because certain unfavorable phenomena have become somewhat more prevalent--or they surface in more apparent forms--does all of this necessitate some reformulation of tasks?

[Answer] It surely does. In any case, we must pay more attention for, on the one hand, extremities in hairdos or fashions, aside from disgusting certain people (in my opinion for no reason) have not created any kind of social problem. But vandalism, molesting people, work-shirking and juvenile delinquency may also become the source of inner tensions and thus have social consequences. And as such, they need more attention and more conscious analysis and exploration.

We must strive, more than before, to find the real causes of these negative phenomena. And this does not seem to be easy at all. If we look at only the last 10 years, we must see that both the world and our country in it have become more complex. The so-called lack of a way out, which a large sector of the public opinion considers abnormal which manifests itself through indulgence in habits which can more easily influence young people who for certain reasons are susceptible to it. I note here, with a great emphasis, that I cannot think of any world situation--or, especially, a political situation--that would push a teenager into hopelessness. Even at the time of the world war and in the cold war years, when we were at the edge of the cliff, we--and the young people--did not feel a complete lack of perspectives. Simply because the lack of perspectives must, in my opinion, be foreign to youth from the start. The fact that people, who belong to the experienced older generation, escape to something because they cannot find a way out, is perhaps more understandable. But when a young man does this?... Well, in spite of this, we cannot close our eyes, we must reckon with the present. We must begin with reality and events taking place around us. It is certain that the international situation and the slow-down of detente also play a part in this somewhere. We must also reckon with phenomena, not yet fully explored, such as mysticism and, in general, the revival of religious fanaticism in our world. And I am not thinking only of the Iranian events. These are phenomena that are difficult to explain rationally, but we must accept the fact that the world does not consist of only rational things. This, also, is an admonishment for us to care more for our youth and to explain the relationships better. In addition to all of this, the development of our economic situation only increases our worries. Many measures that we are compelled to take also affect young people. For instance, a separate apartment is nearly unattainable for those who do not receive any support from their parents. It is certain that this affects the emergence of certain negative phenomena. Thus the question is a complex one, requiring a more thorough analysis. All in all, our main task is to give, and can give, appropriate perspectives to this new situation in spite of our present problems.

As far as the relevance of this entire area of questioning to the KISZ and the school is concerned my opinion is that our work in educating and informing all youth, especially "problem youth," must be intensified by using and analyzing the lessons of the causes and relationships.

[Question] I believe that the KISZ can really reach only those to whom it is otherwise close. But those few young people mentioned here seem to be very far from our principles and goals....

[Answer] This was always so. No association can reach all youth. The strata of youth and how large the masses were which it reached has differed according to historical periods. At the time when the youth league had a membership of over a million, its actual influence was much smaller. The events of 1956 showed how much smaller. There is one thing, however, that we must reckon with at any rate. When our waters are not disturbed either by internal or by external problems, it causes no great worry if our direct influence is relatively smaller on certain young people. But in more complex situations, when greater or lesser problems arise, it is precisely these young people who are most prone to be influenced by various delusions and to go astray. This must, in our present situation, urge every KISZ activist and all KISZ members to strive, more than ever before, to establish a looser, but still influential rapport with these young people.

[Question] The MSZMP Central Committee's resolution of youth policies states: the education of youth is a task for the entire society. How has the situation changed during the past 10 years?

[Answer] The schools have a leading role in the education of youth. The most essential message of the party's 1972 resolution of educational policies is the updating of the entire system of teaching and educational work in the schools and including the increase of the efficiency of education. We must realize, of course, that it is not possible to develop education, and the efficiency of education overnight and with only resolutions. Education is a complex process, part of a continuous activity, and its development does not yield spectacular results on the short run.

The new regulations were created in democratic debates, and according to government to government measures; we have expanded faculty democracy, and this was the first time that not only the responsibility of the students but also their rights were included in the government statutes.

The new curricula and educational plans are also ready and are being gradually introduced. The system of youth parliaments and, that of school parliaments have been developed, in which I see great possibilities of practicing democracy. Of course, it is not possible to unequivocally determine how much of these potentials will be realized and how they will get us closer to our educational goals. It depends on the individual schools. The teacher's personality, his enthusiasm and his conviction of what he says, play an unbelievably large role in this. Young people are very sensitive, they notice right away if the teacher is paying only lip-service. Only those who do their work with sincere conviction and inner faith have real credibility and an activating power. As far as the youth

league is concerned, I have always held the opinion that we must, in the entire school work, depend much more on the Pioneer Association and the KISZ. Yes, let us give the students a lot of tasks; it does not matter if they fail. We cannot begin with the premise that a child is only a child whose task is to study and obey. This view is a bad starting point for teachers. Although there has been some progress in this area as well, there are still some teachers, unfortunately, who profess such principles, not realizing it enough that trust is the foundation of education. It would also be beneficial, of course, if the students, too, had more initiative! There can be no question about the necessity of order and discipline in the school. But there are great possibilities in the cooperation and teamwork between teachers and students, to determine by whom and how this order will be achieved and maintained. This is the course we must follow. Young teachers can do a great deal in this.

[Question] Lately the KISZ has been mentioned more and more often in the press. It seems that "adult society" now pays more attention to the work of the youth league. But this phenomenon, praiseworthy in itself, often reveals a misunderstanding and a lack of information.

[Answer] The fact that more attention is being paid to us and to instruction--that is, to school education--and to the KISZ which is somehow connected with the former for it concerns youth, is not bad in itself. We must watch, however, that critique, not always well-founded, will not become dominant as it creates a distorted picture in public opinion. Our task--and that of the KISZ--in this is to help create a realistic picture.

[Question] Would there thus be room for a healthy debating spirit?

[Answer] There are problems, even generally, about the spirit of debates. It is true nationwide that we are supersentitive and do not like to be criticized. Our debates are not always to the point and objective, in other words, we occasionally have pseudo-debates. But to make a step forward and to solve our problems is only possible if we forget our oversensitivity and act together, with a common will which is crystallized in debates that are held in a sincere and open atmosphere, that are based on well-founded arguments and that show a willingness to help.

Youth Policy, Opportunity, Research

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1980 pp 9-12

[Interview with Dr Tibor Halay]

[Text] [Question] There were rather heated and sharp debates in the late 1960's about Hungarian youth. The period was characterized by extreme generalizations: after certain successful television quiz shows, youth was glorified, and when some activities of a gang stirred up public opinion, many people became inclined to consider every youth a delinquent. The MSZMP Central Committee's 1970 resolution on youth policy subtly laid down the realistic viewpoints of judging youth and formulated the party's value judgment. You are dealing with sociological research. How do you see the youth of the late 1970's, and what kind of people are today's youth?

[Answer] One of the most important and positive consequences of the youth policy resolution is that the social attitude toward youth has changed. This means, first of all, that every political, social and state organization that has anything to do with youth is intensively concerned with matters of youth--officially as well as from self-induced drive. There are also formal elements in this activity but one of the most characteristic aspects of the political tendencies of the 1970's was no doubt the interest in and activity for youth, the intensity of which surpassed everything that was seen previously. And the fact that many people dealt intensively with youth, by necessity, made the picture of youth more realistic. Youth parliaments must not be viewed only as democratic forums. They are also excellent vehicles for bringing managers of enterprises closer to youth, for getting to know them better and for helping to solve problems that still abound today, through more information, understanding and sympathy.

I think it is an important change that, as opposed to the 1960's, it is not the outer appearance of youth which is considered important by the adult society and that clothing and hairdos and short-lived fashions do not urge people to draw superficial conclusions. Instead, public opinion judges youth everywhere on the basis of its way of thinking, readiness and actions

Today's youth as a whole is prepared and knowledgeable with regard to its general knowledge, world outlook and interest in socialism and in politics in general. In other words, it is developing together with our social conditions. I say this in spite of the fact that the entire middle-aged generation grew up and became hardened in the struggles of great social changes and did outstanding activity and, furthermore, that also some negative elements emerged in young people's lives in the past years. I am thinking here of the punks, of the so-called underground way of life of the hippies and of the "szipozas." On the basis of the latter, the danger of generalization is emerging again in public opinion but I think--precisely as a consequence of a significant and general charge in views--this danger is not as great as it was 10 years ago.

Today's youth is facing numerous new questions of economic, social and political life. Beginning with 1973, the negative world economic processes created difficult conditions for our national economy. It is extremely important in this situation for our youth to clearly see what is expected of them, and to recognize its tasks. The assessment of their work is a decisive basic requirement from which the other ones originate as well. We are talking about their readiness, their adjustment to the environment, their activity and the unfolding of their creative aptitudes. This is what must be looked at when judging youth in general as well as judging individuals. We must possess more and more concrete criteria for this assessment.

Nor must we not forget the characteristics arising from their age. When we speak of youth, we generally think of the age group between 14 and 30 years. This is the period of beginning of career, an independent existence and, especially, obtaining an apartment. This is a difficult and contradictory period of life. It requires great efforts from the individual and much help from society as well.

The role of the family--its encouragement, opportunities, upbringing, caring for the children and preparing them for life--is becoming ever more important. Much closer ties are needed between the family and the social organizations.

At last, with regard to the judgment of youth, the assessment of the life style, education and free-time activities is also very important. These moments of our lives must be made more purposeful so that they can better serve the individual as well as social progress.

[Question] What are today, in your opinion, the neuralgic points of youth's integration into society?

[Answer] As far as the youth's relationship to work is concerned, I think on a mass scale we can be satisfied but only if we look at the matter in a general way. The details are not as clear-cut. There are still many problems and tensions with career choice, career orientation and the way beginners are being welcomed.

Equal opportunity is being mentioned in our country more and more often. Alongside with the general political-social equality, which originated from socialist conditions, we must still reckon today with significant inequalities. The educational level, financial situation and incentives of the family influence or determine budding careers. It is significant, for instance, whether the parents are able to materially support their adult children (with an apartment or a place to live and furnishings)--this may result in significantly different life styles and opportunities. If we look only at the apartment, the youth who is getting significant help from his or her parents, will have an "existence-establishing advantage" of 10-15 years. Those who must acquire an apartment entirely from their own resources or must per chance take care of children, will, of course, exploit various opportunities (self-employment, moonlighting, etc.). It is thus not right to accuse such young people of materialism and, according to my experience, they will become more active socially as soon as their situation improves.

I think it is a problem that there are several signs of egalitarianism in our country regarding beginning careers. This is manifest in differences in wages and incomes and also in the fact that no one pays any attention to the differences in the training of new graduates, whether they are true professionals or only have a diploma.

[Question] The question of equal or unequal opportunity is indeed an interesting topic. Are there any scientific data that show social distances in an exact way?

[Answer] Yes, we know something about this. Results of studies show, for example, what opportunities the children of intellectual, peasant and worker parents had before the liberation, and what opportunities they now have of becoming professionals. Before the liberation, children of professional families had 60 times more opportunities for this than did children coming from peasant families, and 20 times more than children

of skilled workers. Today they have 20 and 5 times more opportunity, respectively. The data clearly show the great changes and the historic turning-point in the opportunities, but they also indicate that there are still differences today and that our tasks are many in achieving equal opportunity.

[Question] One of the most important chapters of the party's resolution of youth policy is about the social division of labor that is to be developed in education. In your opinion, how much have we progressed in achieving this characteristic and divided general and proportionate sharing of taxation?

[Answer] We have come a long way. Division of labor, as a requirement, has changed from being a slogan to practice. From the viewpoint of the youth's future and that of the future's youth, it is extremely important how this division of labor works and whether there is room for improvement.

We have more and more recognized lately that the role of the family in the development of youth's profile is often larger than suspected. The family's orientation, cultural level and financial situation, and the places occupied in the various spheres of society by the members of the family have a great effect on youth; they often determine what school the young person will attend, what subjects he wants to study or avoid studying and what his views on society and the world will be. We are still at the beginning of our tasks in studying the family's social role but even the preliminary results are very interesting and necessitate the formulation of even newer questions.

The school system is a significant educational factor. Public opinion for a long time held that it is the school's task to eliminate the differences brought from the family. This is what we investigated in schools and were unhappy to see that they could not carry out this task. We know already and have earlier mentioned the social differences that these cannot be eliminated by pedagogical means alone. The school can do much, and must do much more than before to prevent the existing differences from growing. In my opinion it is an especially fundamental task of the school to better foster the unfolding of talents, and to accomplish this unfolding. I am thinking here not only of intellectual talents but also of talents in manual labor and of the preparation for a creative working life as well.

The KISZ organization is a crucial factor in education. It is extremely important for it to be able to offer suitable political and social goals for the individual strata of the youth, and to do this in a way which is not limited to the definition of the framework but builds on self-activity. It must take care to expand the political knowledge of the KISZ members, to reach the broad strata of youth outside the organization, and to become the political leader and representative of the large masses of youth. It should also have a larger role in the various youth clubs, for example, the sport clubs, cultural institutions, etc.

Social division of labor exists and is working. The danger of formalities, however, must be avoided at all costs. I see sometimes, for example, that one or another state organ or enterprise thinks that it is enough to allocate a seven-digit-sum of forints for youth policy purposes or to create various objective conditions. Let us not misunderstand, these are very important and needed but not enough by themselves. The division of labor works only if the differentiation of tasks is accompanied by the idea and practice of joint undertaking of the tasks. This requirement could also be called intensive joint thinking and cooperation.

The party organizations have a large role and responsibility in cooperation. They must have the initiative and must always look for and develop new and effective methods in practicing youth policy. Youth policy can be effective only with the help of youth. For the youth and with the youth.

[Question] You have also touched upon the activity of the KISZ. Please tell us what, in your opinion, the areas of the KISZ's activities are that should be improved.

[Answer] Improved? Much rather increased or made more effective! I think there is a kind of overregulation in youth organization. We think too much in frameworks, movements, and items, and this is not suitable for characteristics of youth's age. The fundamental objectives must be defined, of course, but overregulation must not stand in the way of self-initiatives. In other words, I think the movement aspect must be strengthened. I expect fewer reports, fewer meetings and more discussion and debates and much more youthful solutions from the organizations of the youth federation. The 1974 resolutions of the KISZ Central Committee point to this direction; the selected path must be consistently followed to the end.

[Question] You are the deputy director of the Institute of Social Sciences. I think it is not surprising if at the end of the interview I ask you about research on youth in Hungary.

[Answer] There was, of course, research on youth in Hungary even prior to 1970 but it was not organized and was mainly limited to the question of students. The basic premise of the resolution on youth policy was that the development of youth policy without scientific research is unthinkable. Essential questions must be studied, a general picture of youth and its individual problems must be drawn, and the results must be used in the preparation of decisions.

Comprehensive youth research plans were prepared for the periods between 1973 and 1975 and later between 1976 and 1980. On the basis of these plans, numerous topics were and are being studied. A few of the more interesting ones are: the studies of the process of becoming industrious, of adaptation at the working place, of the characteristic attributes of rural youth, and of the process of becoming intellectual. However, from the viewpoint of organization, and results, this work is not effective enough, nor does it adequately satisfy the requirements of youth policy.

We have now worked out, and submitted to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the program for the years 1981-1986. If this is to be realized, then we think research will be conducted in a much more organized and coordinated way. Some of the planned topics of this program are: we want to examine youth's place and role in the plant labor organization, the place and role of the various strata of youth in shaping life styles, and the problems of youth's political activity, etc.

The KISZ Central Committee also established a youth research group a few years ago. They achieved good results in a few topics. In addition, they continually prepare the material on which decisions are made, and it is also their task to forward their research findings to the KISZ's top organizations.

In scientifically formulating youth policy questions, problems, of course, arise which relate to theory and practice. Many important and progressive writings in recent years related to this topic have been published in the press and publications. I want to mention here only that, on the one hand, receptivity, and on the other hand, the applicability and dissemination of these research findings, are not adequate in spite of numerous achievements. A link is missing somewhere in the social sciences which would connect scientific recognition to practical use. This is where we would now like to assure progress.

Youth's Importance in Business

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1980 pp 12-13

[Interview with Istvan Kortvelyes]

[Text] [Question] You are the director of an integrated factory, which has more than 7,000 workers and a yearly production which amounts to several billions. You are also the managing director of one of the country's most significant heavy industrial plants, and your tasks and problems are also proportionately large. What does it mean to you to deal with youth?

[Answer] There are two reasons why my work with youth is necessary. One is that since our party's 11th congress I have had the honor of being a member of the Central Committee's youth committee. Thus, I have the opportunity to become familiar on a national level with young people's work, life and, of course, problems. During the 5 years I have acquired a lot of experience, and in the course of committee work I have learned how to correctly view the problems of youth. I would like to especially emphasize the fact that I have also gained a lot of practical experience, for we did not limit our activity to meetings but went out to the field to examine questions, and it was not only from paper but from life itself that we tried to learn the lessons.

The other reason for my keen interest in youth affairs is that more than half of the workers at our enterprise are under 30. Let me note the interesting coincidence that precisely the same proportion of the young people belong to the KISZ. Thus the huge economic tasks are being carried out by a collective, the majority of which are young persons. The

often-heard slogan, that not only the future but also the present belongs to the young, is especially true in our plant. Everything that we create displays the work and mental capacity of youth.

[Question] You think, then, that young people play a significant role in your combine?

[Answer] I would even say that they have a decisive role in several respects. I can corroborate this with a relatively current example. It is well-known that we recently finished Hungary's largest single-location investment project, the so-called PVC III. The 11-billion investment at large capacity synthetic materials factory, to a greater than usual extent is being operated by young people. Obviously because of the most up-to-date applied technology, two-thirds of all workers are young. This is no longer theory but fact that these young persons flawlessly operate the equipment of the highest level and turn out highest quality products.

[Question] It is worth it to step back a little in time and recall the construction of the new factory. We heard and read a great deal at that time about the KISZ patronage there.

[Answer] The patronage movement at Kazincbarcika and at the Chemical Combine of Borsod has an 18-year tradition. Every investment project of the Borsod Chemical Combine was built under KISZ patronage. Thus, we had a lot of experience and this is perhaps the reason for the fact that the sign, "This Is Being Built Under KISZ Patronage," was not purely a slogan. We gave young people three slogans: deadline, cost limits and good quality! All three were implemented and thus the purpose of the patronage was not to make up for slow work and negligence or to camouflage extra work as social cooperation, but real communist youth responsibility.

It is perhaps worth it to illustrate the dimensions of the construction with figures: the plant's value increased by about 10 million forints on every single day during construction. There is one thing, on the other hand, which is hardly possible to express in forints but is worth mentioning among the achievements of the patronage, namely, is that many of the young people working for the contractors learned their trade by us and graduated from the evening-high school of Marxism-Leninism and that 400 persons in the military brigades had 8 years of school and 200 learned a trade. We may thus say that we were "building" not only a factory but also people.

I want to add that the KISZ official was also responsible for the fact that the weekly magazine, MAGYAR IFJUSAG [HUNGARIAN YOUTH] followed our work to the end with interest and stood behind us in the difficult days of the construction.

[Question] To my knowledge, it was here where the specialized construction camp, a characteristic element of the patronage and a new form of the construction camp moved, was introduced for the first time....

[Answer] It was here indeed where the first construction camp was created in which apprentices could work in their future trade.

We initiated the centrally specialized construction camp in the spirit of the 9th KISZ Congress and for the 20th anniversary of the construction camp movement. The contractors required 300-350 young people in each shift to do skilled work. As there were six employing enterprises--as opposed to former practice--the camp was operated by the KISZ Central Committee's large plant committee and the operative patronage committee. The legal and financial aspects of the operation were taken care of by the Borsod Chemical Combine. The number of hours worked by skilled workers was 82,698, which is a respectable figure indeed. But not less significant are the moral and educational benefits. According to shared opinions, the campers came to the construction site prepared and with zeal and carried out their tasks with appropriate responsibility. They knew and felt that their help was well-timed and that their activity was very useful, especially in the shortage specialties. These young people also valued the opportunity to become familiar with specialized small modern machines and up-to-date techniques that they never heard of before.

I was deeply impressed when these teenagers openly talked about the fact that they could not even imagine earlier that Hungary could build such a huge plant. A few of them even voiced their feeling of pride in their country and pride in being able to be part of such a creative work. I think this is an expression of feelings that must be valued and that are worth working for.

[Question] Does the age of the combine's executives reflect the role of the young age groups mentioned up to now?

[Answer] In its totality, yes. The average age of the top executives is 43 years. I am the oldest with my 48 years. But this fact has a meaning only if I add that I have had the honor of occupying this position for more than 8 years and that I was only 32 years old when I became technical director. We can meet many young people on the lower management levels but I think we could be bolder at the middle level. It is striking that in leadership positions we very rarely find women under 30. The reasons for this are partly natural but we cannot be satisfied with this.

In order to allow the really talented and deserving young persons to occupy leadership positions, we turn to the organs of the youth federation to decide in cadre questions. In fact, we recently requested the Council of Young Technologists and Economists to make a direct recommendation for filling the important position of the chief of main department. Frankly, this possibility came as a surprise for the officials of the council, but after careful examination, they recommended three candidates in a detailed written justification of their choice, emphasizing achievements instead of simply listing data and establishing at the same time the order of preference.

[Question] Where there are many young people, there are also more applicants for apartments. Does this create any tensions?

[Answer] There are at present 700 apartment applicants at the enterprise but nevertheless, I would not consider the situation bad. Why not? Because our young people have good prospects of getting an apartment and, in step with their advancing age and their changing family situation, we were and are able to find increased solutions.

To start at the beginning, single people can live in really modern and comfortable hostels. The next step is the bachelor flat, of which we have 93 and rent them furnished, mostly to young couples. And finally there is the fact that in the last 3 years more than 600 of our workers have acquired independent apartments and almost 61 percent of them were under 30 years of age. They are the ones who have already outgrown bachelor flats. In addition, the hostels construction action is almost finished, together with the family houses built on lots belonging to the enterprise. As a result of all this, the average waiting period for an apartment is 3-5 years, much less than the national average.

[Question] Given the economic tasks facing our country, it is perhaps especially timely today to bring up an age characteristic of young people, namely, that they boldly break with familiar forms and processes and look for solutions without prejudices.

[Answer] I also see the spirit of innovation as a characteristic of our youth. From year to year young people increasingly submit many innovative proposals. The number of young specialists taking part in the innovation movement was already around 700 in 1979. However, it is not simple to introduce innovations in the heavy chemical industry, for there is a high danger of explosion, poisoning or catastrophic gas leakages. And yet, 70-80 percent of the proposals accepted, for instance, at the Alkoto Ifjusag [Creative Youth] competition are implemented within the following year.

Because of the dangers mentioned, we especially encourage proposals dealing with environmental protection, conservation and recycling. One of the recently accepted youth inventions, for example, solved the re-use of the caustic sludge originating from water softening.

We also support the KISZ people in the realization of the radar movement for we see that within its framework there is also a possibility to use the benefits arising from the critical views of young people.

Experience reinforces that all of these forms of youth work move us forward on the road where the road signs read efficiency, quality and rational conservation.

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SPECIAL COURSES FOR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL GRADUATES, MIXED SUCCESS

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian No 15, 11 Apr 80 pp 10-11

[Discussion with Gabor Neuwirt, assistant dean, Technical University of Budapest; Tibor Lenkey, director of Personnel and Educational Division, Lenin Foundry Works; Dr Jozsef Gondi, SZET program director at Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences; and Erzsebet Halmai, professor of mathematics; by Tibor Nagy Igloi and Andras M. Farago; date and place not given: "Cross-Breezes: SZET: Changes, Views, Debates"]

[Text] SZET--Skilled Workers' Preliminary Training Program. Back in 1973 we wrote in some detail about the "step-skipping" youth. This new system of continued education produced much debate in those days. There were many who voiced their opinions pro and con. Later, emotions subsided. It seemed that SZET had finally become a permanent feature of our system. Recently, after the experiences of several years, the Council of Ministers decided to expand and to amend the SZET's development. The views and the resounding debates following these changes, however, have persuaded us to examine once more the whole "SZET question" thoroughly.

What Changed and Why?

We expected an answer to this question primarily from Gabor Neuwirt, assistant dean of the Technical University of Budapest, who is most qualified to deal with this problem. He had been instrumental in the birth of SZET; and since then he had become an expert on this question.

[Neuwirt] One of the most important changes is that henceforth the graduates of the regular high schools can also apply. As a matter of fact, according to the wording of the decree, the training program should first of all be filled with skilled workers who are graduates of secondary schools. Why were these changes necessary? Because some interested skilled workers rightfully objected to the earlier tendency to exclude those with more work experience, simply because they were graduates of the regular high schools.

The structure of the preliminary training program has also changed. Previously, students attended classes for 2 days, devoted 1 day to consultation

and to individual studies, and then spent 3 days at their places of employment. This system continued from week to week. Then, at the end of the training program, they had to go through a 6-to-8 week long intensive course. Our past experiences proved to us that the frequent changes between work and study programs impeded both. Henceforth, 2 weeks of study will alternate with 2 weeks of work. In this way our SZET students can immerse themselves more deeply in their studies, while also performing their work better. The intensive course at the end of the year, however, remains unchanged. But only those who have passed their mid-term examinations will be able to attend. Following this--and contrary to earlier practices--they will have to pass a regular entrance examination. There, each applicant will have to prove himself alongside his colleagues. In the course of the current academic year, 88 percent of the technical graduates were admitted to colleges and universities, which is really not a bad ratio. SZET stipends can also be requested from the companies by those who have not gone through the preliminary training program, but have passed the entrance examinations and have met the SZET requirements in every other respect.

I purposely left the discussion of the most controversial aspects of the changes--i.e. modifications of the stipends--to the end. I shall tell you honestly that they were received with considerably mixed feelings by the public. Many were frightened off from applying specifically by these changes. But what are we really talking about? Hitherto SZET students would receive 80 percent of their pay during the period of their study. This sum was augmented by various other grants. Thus, stipends of 5,000 or 6,000 forints were very common. But there were those who received as much as 10,000 forints per month. This produced tension at the university among the SZET students. But this practice was also resented by the other students. Moreover, when the new graduates returned to their former places of employment as new-fledged engineers, they often received twice as much as their degree-holding colleagues just entering the profession. Hereafter they will receive a stipend of 2,000 forints per month during their university years, which will increase by 100 forints per year. Various study and social grants will supplement this sum. But not even the largest grant will amount to more than 4,000 or 4,500 forints per month. Moreover, even this can only be achieved with an excellent study record throughout the study period, and by receiving the maximum social aid. The average grant will remain under 3,000 forints. In my estimation this is not enough. This is especially true in cases where there are several children, and the family has already become accustomed to the higher pay and the higher standard of living of skilled workers. In the future, these people will undoubtedly be more reluctant to accept such sacrifices.

What Are the Expectations and by Whom?

In Miskolc, at the Lenin Foundry Works, it is already evident that the number of applicants have declined as a result of these modifications. According to Tibor Lenkey, director of the Personnel and Educational Division, the primary reason for this phenomenon is rooted in finances.

[Lenkey] Previously our main concern was to select only the capable from among the applicants. Nowadays, we are obliged to entice them. This year only six have applied. Only a few more are willing to accept a decline in their incomes amounting to several thousand forints. No one is eager to pay such a high "tuition."

[Question] In light of the decline in the number of applicants, did SZET's significance also decline?

[Answer] Well, it never really had too much economic and professional significance anyway. Our company has over 600 diploma-holders. As compared to this, the number of engineers who rose from the ranks of skilled workers is insignificantly small. Nor can I claim that the SZET is a useful instrument in the realization of our plans concerning the training of cadres. It is rather futile for us to proclaim that this or that worker would become such and such an engineer. Our plans are usually crossed already at the entrance examinations. In my estimation, the SZET's significance is primarily political. Through it, the number of engineers of working class background does increase. The SZET is an opportunity for a certain type of social mobility, but not to the degree we anticipated. If it depended on me, I would retain the 1 year preliminary training program. But then I would enroll the applicants in night schools or correspondent courses.

[Question] In your estimation, how many will be willing to take on study in addition to their work and family obligations?

[Answer] Perhaps their number will decrease, but at least they will become good engineers. I, for example, am one of those engineers who attained his degree while working full-time and studying at night. We did this without any outside help, and we did become engineers.

Time Is Passing

SZET students. They usually have darker circles under their eyes, and their years are passing at a quicker pace. Almost without exception, they are all married.

After a lapse of 6, 8 or 10 years, they are again sitting in school benches. It is difficult to start again even for one who used to be a full-time student. But it is even more difficult for the others.

We are speaking with Dr Jozsef Gondi, the director of the SZET program at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences.

[Gondi] In my view, the preliminary training program should be changed. If we would devote the whole period to class work, we would gain 14 weeks. And the students would not be burdened by work. The pace of study would not be as fast, but it would be easier.

The first problems come to the fore already during the preliminary training program.

"The teachers who prepared us were very decent. They gave us all the help possible. They organized special lectures, and we were able to consult with them."

"I was commuting from the provinces. Traveling and then studying 8 hours... True, we had to go through 4 years of study. But had I known that it was so difficult..."

(The views of the boys are expressed by Erno Karvalics, Gabor Lihr, Janos Chalupa, Jozsef Toth, Erno Hegedus, and Janos Bathori, who are all second- or third-year economic students.)

To Move Them From an Impasse

Erzsebet Balmai, professor of mathematics, who is responsible for the freshmen gives us her views:

[Balmai] "The preliminary training and the freshman year hardens the boys very much. They need to exert almost superhuman efforts. This is the most difficult period. They usually come to us as men of achievement, who are well paid, and have many possibilities for advancement. But here they may very well end up among the last. The first semester has a shock effect upon them, and the first final examination an even greater one. They are honest and industrious people, and they would like to reciprocate for the trust placed in them. But at times this is impossible. They recoil, and often come into conflict with themselves. This is only a step away from dropping out--if we would let them. In this department I have seen grown men cry. This is the point where we have to help them with persuasion and with coaching. We have to inject a new spirit into them, and thus move them away from an impasse.

"On the one hand there is trust, there are possibilities and there is the desire to help. On the other hand, there are the housing, childrearing, and the financial problems. And then we have not even touched the problems stemming from deficiencies in their educational and cultural backgrounds, which is often felt by the students themselves."

"We used to live under rather primitive circumstances. I didn't have an opportunity to read at all. I had to earn a living at a very early age. Only now do I realize my deficiencies. Take philosophy, for example. I can read it, I can even understand it, but I am unable to express it."

Even so, statistics indicate that the dropout rate among SZET students is not greater than that of their colleagues. It is also true that they take their studies and their final examinations more seriously. This also explains their rapid adjustment. They are respected by their fellow group members because they have begun their studies under more difficult circumstances, and because they generally make a greater effort to make up their

deficiencies. Besides being excellent skilled workers, these people were also involved in social and political activities at their places of employment. Thus, at the university they are especially relied upon in KISZ [Communist Youth Federation] activities and in party work. The younger students usually ask for their opinions.

But how much is a SZET diploma really worth from a professional point of view?

I am convinced that we are different from the other engineers. We have an advantage because we are familiar with production. Those who came to the university immediately after high school have never familiarized themselves with actual work as we did. This is why I look upon this movement as a very positive phenomenon. A man who receives a diploma after practical experience and then returns to production can get more out of his knowledge. Unfortunately, this does not always appear to be true. I am referring to the relations with the companies. It seems that their initial enthusiasm has cooled. They appear to be less concerned with us then before, and they are even envious of us. But interestingly enough, this does not hold true for those from among whom we came, nor for those among whom we will be going.

Another question: Since we are talking about enthusiasm: Are you preparing yourself for a new "Crosswinds"?

"We often talk about this. We shall never have it easy. We were selected because we worked better and more than the others. And here at the university we again have to study more than the others. Once we complete our studies, we shall undoubtedly receive responsible positions. But that is the way it should be. This is why they have educated us, and we are obliged to repay that. But have we produced a revolution? Will there be a new "Crosswinds"? We are too few in number for that. The only way that would be possible is if the universities would graduate an entire class--perhaps 5,000 men--in this category. That would almost amount to a whole generation."

Workers, Diplomats

In reality the SZET students constitute two large groups. The first and the numerically larger group consists of those who remain in their fields after receiving their diplomas. They study in their fields, and they return to their companies and to their specialties. The other group--as we may put it--represents the political line. They change fields of study. They exchange the work-bench for the desk. They become lawyers, or perhaps diplomats.

As a typical example, we have singled out the Department of International Relations of the University of Economic Relations. The circumstances of the SZET-students enrolled there are basically identical with those of the

other students. Differences only exist in the curriculum and in the selection process prior to admission. Those who study there as recipients of scholarships from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can start their preparatory training only after a careful political screening and selection process --in line with the requirements of their future profession. But they take examinations just like the others. And the responsibility for changing their fields does not rest upon the selectors alone. They are also burdened with the obligatory study of one, and subsequently two foreign languages. And these are not ordinary subjects. After all, there is little positive we can say about the linguistic preparations of students with skilled workers' backgrounds. There are many university students who, as children of diplomatic personnel, have studied and graduated in a foreign language. Thus, the contrast here is even more visible.

Because of their small numbers--30 persons per year--the situation is easier in the other departments. We can follow the students' progress much better, and we can extend more help to them--so claims Dr Ferenc Kreskay, chairman of the Department of International Relations. The concern shown by the appropriate personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also helps us in our efforts. They constantly observe the scholarly progress, as well as the personal problems of our students. And it is at this point that we have to mention the study of languages. Unfortunately, we have been as yet unable to introduce individualized study, comparable to that in mathematics. Should we have appropriate financial support, we would be able to achieve more with less energy.

All of the persons we have interviewed have agreed that the two most important factors in the SZET movement are confidence and the desire to prove oneself. It also represents an opportunity for those who previously did not have the chance to study. They earned this right through their work and their political attitude.

As we say: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." But where is the SZET proof? In its practical application. These youngsters are proving themselves, and finishing their college education under the harshest and most trying circumstances. This is a respectable achievement.

"They told us about this opportunity, about the chance to study. So we were happy to come."

So what is the SZET movement? It is a political blood-cleansing, and--as practice has proved it--a more effective professional leadership. And what about the change in personality? What will adaptation and reintegration produce?

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POLINSZKY CALLS FOR MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 25 Apr 80 pp 3-4

[Article: "Karoly Polinszky: Modernization of Education Work Is Urgently Needed for Our Development"]

[Text] A national pedagogical meeting entitled "Training for Work in the Vocational Classroom" was held in Kazincbarcika, 9-11 April. There Minister Karoly Polinszky gave a speech, summarizing current questions of instructional policy, from which we now publish excerpts.

The 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was concluded a few weeks ago. The congress weighed and analyzed the economic, political, and social developments of the last 5 years and decided on the things to be accomplished in the next 5 years, things which cannot be called easy, but which are indispensable to our development. For us also this is a time of reckoning. It is well known that in relation to instruction social and economic requirements have not only grown, but have changed; the tasks have become more complex and involved.

The economic system of our country is in a state of transformation. The unfolding of the scientific and technical revolution requires strengthened development and stabilization of the main directions. It is becoming more and more clear that education and training are a source of strength for our economic and social development which can and must be enlarged. Our current intensive period of development demands modernization of the work performed in schools.

The transformation of the economic system goes along with a restructuring of the entire society. We are living in a period of geographical population movement, when rural life is changing and urbanization is assuming large proportions. Looking back on the past decade, we have witnessed and participated in the unfolding of a socialist way of life--though not without contradictions. Now I would like to call attention, first of all, to such changes in the quality of everyday life as: increased demands for nursery schools, increased respect for culture and continuing education, and striving on the part of individuals for careers offering better prospects. We must see that all this is in the end a logical requirement of our social development, a result which is distinctly positive, even if from time to time it causes problems in the area of instruction which are not small.

We must, therefore, make our school system flexible in view of the increased educational tasks, the subjects to be taught and the constantly changing demands. And this, moreover, must be done in such a way that taken into account that in future years we must work under more difficult economic conditions. Foreign economic conditions have worsened, we feel more and more strongly the effect of changes in world economy and the rising costs of raw materials and energy. Intensive economic development, transformation of the agricultural system, export capability, and increased productivity are all tasks which require us to think about how we are going to utilize our limited resources.

Effective, rational and conservative utilization of material goods is very important in the field of instruction as well. As in many previous examples, it is still necessary to mobilize social forces and to utilize individual and group creativity and initiative for the improvement of material and objective conditions. The interdependence between instruction and economic development makes it an imperative social interest that we centralize material resources in order to accomplish vital tasks and to maintain the levels already achieved.

Comrade Janos Kadar said in reporting to the congress, "The system of instruction and modernization of instruction is one of our most important programs. For this purpose we must strengthen central planning, and at the same time rely more courageously on responsible independent activity, initiatives, experiences and opinions of institutions, teachers and [illegible]."

In the Interest of Stability

In this decade, we have accomplished the modernization of instruction according to the policy on instruction of 1972, and we are continuing this work further on the basis of the resolution and decision of the congress. Modernization originally had two options: either a fundamental and rapid change or a continuing development. We chose the latter, because, in striving for stability, we can preserve the present values of our school system. Therefore, we develop wherever and whenever necessities require, and those things for which the necessary prerequisites have been met.

It is our opinion that we must regard the present school system as a starting point; we do not even desire a fundamental change in its structure. At the same time we must take into account that the system will, nevertheless, change after a certain length of time. We do not want to increase the total time required for training in elementary, secondary and higher education, but we can imagine an internal change in proportions, as the result of which the length of elementary training would increase and vocational training in schools would be shortened. Work toward development of this long-range concept is in progress. The Ministry of Instruction has prepared its plan. It would be premature to speak about its details, however, before the necessary political decision [has been made].

Together With the Parents

Our public education--in spite of our many fears--has in general satisfied the demands which the building of a socialist society has made. Socialist features of work in education have been strengthened, modernization of subject matter and unfolding of more thorough pedagogical work are in progress. But we cannot be satisfied yet, because the effectiveness of educational work has not increased in the desired amount. We expect a great improvement from implementation of the curricula which have been introduced. We must improve school work in harmony with educational factors, because we think there are many unexploited possibilities in this area. I especially emphasize the responsibility of parents, because it is not just the case that they are only the first among equals. Many speakers in the congress stressed the special educational role, support of school work, and responsibility of the home and the family. Our educational goals make cooperation between teachers and parents a task of highest priority.

More than 98 percent of the students entering first grade elementary schools last year attended nursery schools or had other preparation for school. On the basis of demographic projections as well as taking into account further increases in demands of society, we now expect that in the next decade and a half--in spite of all transitional difficulties--nursery-school education will become complete.

The implementation of compulsory education is progressing successfully--every statistic shows a slow improvement. Out of each age-group, 92.1 percent of the students complete elementary school within the time of compulsory education. Visible improvements can accordingly no longer be obtained; we have to work very hard for every half-percentage point.

About Modernization

With modernization and other efforts, 99.2 percent of the students receive vocational instruction, but, because of a lack of trained teachers, the portion of these hours for which qualified vocational teachers are provided is only 86.8 percent.

As is known, our goal in establishing district schools was to make vocational instruction complete and to decrease significantly the number of children being accommodated in small groups, partly in separate classes, partly combined, and in this way to increase equality of opportunity for study. The data relating to this illustrate well the significant accomplishments achieved. But I must say, however, that in some counties the possibilities and conditions for modernization have not been properly considered. So we may find hasty modernization, with damage to social values, or [situations in which] schools--students and teachers--have been placed in a more difficult situation. In connection with our general supervisory examinations, we have often mentioned hasty, incorrect solutions and sought for corrections to them. Naturally we do not want to give up on rational modernization in the future, but we can only agree with the new organizations if with them we really create better conditions for the students.

The Elementary School

With the introduction of the new curricula, the lower and upper divisions of the elementary school have been brought closer together. Results in various subjects (especially in Hungarian and mathematics) have been better than average, but variation among different areas and even among schools [in the same area] is quite large.

Our tasks in regard to the elementary schools are the following:

--the implementation of compulsory education must be completed, emphasizing that the upper limit cannot be quite 100 percent;

--along with the social integration of Gypsy population, we must also aid in the schooling of Gypsy students which is not just of interest to the school but also to society;

--the number of school year failures must be reduced, but not by making concessions or superficial results;

--conditions must be created to accommodate the elementary school population, which will be increasing until 1987, with new establishments and transitional solutions;

--peaceful conditions must be guaranteed for the accomplishment of the tasks specified in the new educational-instructional curricula--possible corrections which may be necessary must be collected and experiences evaluated;

--a new methodology must be developed for the successful introduction of the new curricula;

--effectiveness of educational work in the elementary schools must be improved.

Secondary Instruction, Professional Training

Throughout the world, and here as well, the greatest tension and contradictions are in the secondary schools. Instruction cannot keep pace with the rapidly changing requirements of the national economy because of its slower potential for change. For this reason we cannot achieve complete harmony between them.

In our vocational training, the training of skilled workers with a broader and deeper theoretical basis is becoming prominent. There is a serious contradiction, however, in that whereas scientific and technical development requires the training of skilled workers with a broader background, many plants and enterprises demand workers with narrow specialized knowledge and practical abilities. The road of the future in vocational training will be a rational division of labor between professional training schools and the plants, enterprises, and institutions, in such a

way that theoretical and basic practical training will be provided by the schools as always, but specialization, that is teaching of skills pertaining to a concrete area of work, will be the task of employers.

Instruction is now being given in our vocational schools in 201 areas. Compared to the previous situation, the number of areas has been significantly reduced, because students can gain skills in broader areas with a greater theoretical basis, skills which can be used in other related areas as well. Since 1975, the general subjects offered in vocational schools have had a uniform content. In formulating the material for the commonly-known subjects, we tried [to assure] that every student in whatever field would study the same things, and thus their general cultural level would be raised. The new plans for the commonly-known subjects are realistic, modern, flexible and provide greater possibilities for freedom on the part of teachers.

We have two concerns about our vocational schools, each [of which is] difficult to solve. Both are quite well known. One is that in general the vocational schools are chosen by students with poor grades. Our second concern is that because of excessive prominence given to the interests of particular megye's and that county boundaries often have proven to be impenetrable in many regards.

During the past school year we began to introduce the new educational-instructional plans in vocational schools. Training began in 60 of the 76 designated subjects, and the number was increased by six this year. It would be too soon to speak about experiences, but we can say already that there were fewer difficulties than we expected.

The Comprehensive and Matriculation Examination

The goals of high-school training, as is well known, have not changed. This year we began introducing the new educational-instructional curricula. Within this framework, we will begin building up instruction of electives. With all this we want to strengthen preparation for further study and to make easier the employment of those who do not go on to study further. More than one-third of the high schools have joined in [offering] instruction in practical elective groups of subjects.

We intend to expand the subject areas of the uniform written comprehensive matriculation examination, and history will again become a required subject for graduation. Work on modernization of the system of graduation and matriculation is in progress and nearing completion.

Modernizing Higher Education

There are several institutions of higher learning in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye [in which Kazincbarcika is located], so I cannot fail to mention here our system of higher education as well.

The question of the effectiveness of instruction in higher education used to be posed differently than it is now. The present system of vocational training is rigid, allowing neither students nor graduates to adapt flexibly to changing conditions. It is also possible to debate about the proportions of training being given--especially taking into account long-range development.

In recent decades it has been an undeniably beneficial observation that, in addition to engineers trained for planning, we need research and development, and also production managers with higher education. This thought was proposed more than a decade ago, right here in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye, in Miskolc, by participants in a conference organized by MTESz [the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations]. It is, however, questionable whether the present structures of our technical colleges and universities answer these goals in the proportions and actual content [of subjects taught]. A legitimate question is: Would it not be possible to move further in the direction of coordination between colleges and universities in content and organization and to make college training more flexible which now often has a very narrow profile and a rigid course of study?

Plans for Borsod

I think I must speak about our plans for higher education which affect and are of interest to Borsod. During the next school year, we will begin training of lawyers at the Nehezipari Muszaki Egyetem [University of Heavy Industry] in Miskolc. We also plan to offer specialized training in these areas--copyright law, protection of licenses, patent law and labor law. Our intention with all this is not only to satisfy the demands of our society for such professionals, but to solve the one-sidedness of industrial training by organizing here training in the social sciences. For our striving in both areas is for strengthening of interdisciplinary training.

In the next decade and a half, in coordination with the secondary training, we want to focus on the intensive, qualitative developments of higher education.

Recognition for Teachers

Let me now say a few things especially about teachers and teacher training in connection with higher education! Teachers have a crucial role in the whole process of modernization: in improving the quality of educational work and making it more effective, and in successfully modernizing its content. Even though there are significant differences between the schools, still much work of high quality is being done in schools functioning under difficult conditions. But in recent decades the loads have been noticeably increased: the introduction of the new educational-instructional curricula have required much extra work, preparation and teaching have demanded more attention and t

I must also say that staffing of teachers is continually improving; the number of educators has risen by 17 percent in 5 years. The portion of teachers without training has decreased since 1976 in every type of institution. The proportion of women, on the other hand, is very high. At the nursery school and lower elementary levels of course only women are working. In upper elementary they constitute about 80 percent and in secondary schools 55 percent. "Feminization" of the field is growing. Let me not be misunderstood: in general it is not the women themselves that cause problems but their proportion at certain levels. To change this is difficult for several reasons: on the one hand the erroneous social concept that considers the teaching field "easy" women's work, on the other hand the field does not have enough prestige because of society's erroneous system of values. But living and working conditions are also not attractive enough and neither is selection always good.

Finally, I call attention to the fact that we not only have difficulties now, but we will have them in the future, and we must prepare for them. I think it is important, however, that administrators create for teachers peaceful conditions so that they can concentrate on educational-instructional work.

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IMPORTANT, CONTROVERSIAL ROLE OF SHOP STEWARDS HIGHLIGHTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 3,Mar 80 pp 39-43

[Article by Sandor Jakab, deputy secretary general of SZOT: "The Growth of the Trade Union Steward System"]

[Text] These days it can be heard often that the work of the trade union stewards is experiencing its renaissance. Undoubtedly there is some basis for this statement. That is, the trade union steward system and the work of the stewards have developed much in recent years. This is so even if we know that we do not nearly take advantage of all those opportunities which are available to us. The political recognition that the steward system is an important factor in the development of socialist democracy is undoubtedly of great significance, together with other things, in the change. The activity of the stewards forms such a comprehensive system in the trade union's life which in the most direct form provides the opportunity for sensing, relaying and representing the various interests. Through this the workers directly participate and share in managing the plant, the enterprise, and can better practice their rights and obligations as workers. Looking at it from the plant management's viewpoint, their role and significance is also significant from the viewpoint of the enterprise's political and economic growth.

Political recognition of the large role of the stewards is based primarily on the experience provided by the experiments related to further development of democracy in the plant, at the place of work, but to no small extent it also rests on the traditions of the Hungarian workers' movement. Even in the past the organized workers chose those of their coworkers as stewards who were the most resilient fighters for the cause of the workers and of the political struggles, who stood out with their class consciousness and sense of reality, showed exemplary human behavior and were recognized tradesmen. The foundation for the respect the stewards have enjoyed has always been that they represented the direct and general interests of those who elected them consistently and with fighting determination. Systematically providing an accounting and detailed information, and keeping themselves informed about conditions in the plant, at the place of work and about all major and minor events which affect the workers, were among the most characteristic features of their method of work. This assignment did not tolerate formalisms or bureaucratism, but on the contrary, it demanded systematic discussions with

workers on different levels of conscious development, and assumed convincing debating ability. In the strict sense of the word this living together of the stewards with their fellow workers provided the daily opportunity for information for the trade union's work, by means of which it was easy to measure the movement's strength, organization and consciousness.

In the first years after the liberation these traditions proved extremely valuable in the political struggles of the people's democracy in solving specific problems of the economy of the plants. The steward system was a very significant tool of the workers' movement of that era and an important political school for mass training cadres. It is unfortunate that after a few years--in the first half of the 1950's--this growth suffered a break. The work of the stewards became a formality, limited to a large extent to collecting the membership dues. After the MSZMP came into existence, and in parallel with reinstating the place and role of the trade unions in the Leninist spirit, the steward system also gradually received a new value and its to a larger extent its further development began.

An outstanding station in the development of this process was the 23rd congress of the trade unions which in a resolution declared further development of the activities and role of the stewards by focusing on the basic ["grass roots"] organization's work. Since then the work of the stewards has been developing vigorously. The office of trade union steward has received rank and growing recognition before the public opinion, and with this among the trade union members. The national and the economic administrations also increasingly recognize that they are not hinderers but promoters of the work. The skeptical opinions developed about them are losing ground. Life has proven the doubters wrong, and proved that the great majority of the stewards can handle the increased tasks. It is unanimously recognized today that further development of this work can be accomplished through improving their training and perparation.

The increased sphere of authority of the stewards and their changed role has greatly impoved the work of the trade unions and strengthened the link between the leadership organs and the membership. It appears that this is where the solution is to be sought also for the problem resulting from the large membership numbers of the basic organizations. Many examples prove that where the work is particularly difficult because of the large membership in the basic organization the groups can help since they are basic cells of the political life which have worked out well, everything, considered and based on the practice of recent years that those experiences of political significance must be emphasized as most important that the well working network of stewards means very much in strengthening the connections of the trade unions with the masses.

Nevertheless, the work of the stewards often stands at the center of debates. That is, in addition to recognizing progress, more and more people criticize the quality of their activities. Without any embellishments we must admit that these critical observations do have some foundations. Actually the situation is that in several respects they have little experience for their

work, particularly under the changed conditions and under today's unique circumstances. It cannot be denied that of the over 170,000 stewards there is a significant number of those whose work and suitability for this office is debatable.

Accepting the Conflicts

Besides the criticizable work of some stewards other reasons also hinder progress. Such, for example, is that some economic managers consider the stewards to be some type of opponents. And even if they formally do not declare their antipathy, their lack of understanding is reflected in the superficial, bureaucratic relationship and in the weaknesses of the social content of the relationships. The fact that the partner economic managers often have a lesser sphere of authority than do the stewards may also strain the relationship.

Today one of the essential elements of the economic manager's political suitability is how he relies on the political and social organizations and last but not least, on the trade union stewards and how well he can cooperate with them. This must be taken into consideration also when they are being evaluated. At the same time, for the sake of fairness it must also be said that smooth cooperation based on theoretical foundations can be a reality only as a result of mutual efforts and good will.

Just as with the work of the trade unions as a whole, a basic question of the activity of the stewards is also to what extent it is in harmony with the general theoretical goals of the party organizations. Their activity can gain the appropriate political content only with the party organization's political guidance which fully express the society's general interests. Experience proves that this has not yet been recognized everywhere, and the ideal relationship is not always smooth. On occasion it is influenced by unreasonable jealousy, at other times lack of understanding, not infrequently by the onesided handling of local interests, personal vanity and other subjective circumstances.

The relationship and everyday activity between managers of plants, enterprises and their sociopolitical organizations cannot be imagined to be free of all conflicts. Life at the work place is the scene of the existence and conflict of numerous interests. While it is true that the socialist circumstances do create an identity of the basic interests, but within this various specific interests exist and have effect and even the general ones appear only these. And because these are not automatically worked out and are not automatically in harmony with each other, the arguments and differing opinions are also natural and frequent phenomena.

Generally the particular opinions of the economic management of the enterprises, their political organs, the trade union bodies and the stewards express specific objective circumstances. Along with agreement on the basic theoretical concepts differing evaluations regarding the details often provide the basis for arguments. One must not be surprised by these but must be expect them,

moreover, the consequences must be accepted. The forums of the work place democracy are called upon to create harmony among the differing viewpoints and the various interests behind them, and the individual decisions of the labor managers should be based on this.

Under the present conditions of economic life when technical and technological growth have greatly accelerated, when modernness and efficiency are basic measures for politically evaluating the activity through the intensity of conflicts and confrontations will also increase. The old value systems are necessarily reorganized and switch roles and a new type of differentiation develops among the individual works a and between [illegible] groups of workers. This underlines even more that the party organizations also have a definitive role from the viewpoint of the smoothness of the work of the stewards and of more ideological and more harmonious cooperation. It speaks for the quality of their work that today in many places the economic managers rely on the initiatives, suggestions and opinions of the trade union bodies and activities. This aids in creating harmony between the various interests and helps in the making of optimum decisions.

The Conditions of Successful Work

Life demands that the role of the stewards be developed and that their circle of authority be expanded. Building on the past experience, we must take care to further develop their work. First of all it is necessary to clearly see the essence and multifaceted nature of a steward's work. The concept which tries to limit their work to meetings of organizational forums and to discussions must be fought. Without denying their role we must place emphasis on strengthening everyday work.

The key question of the steward system's functioning is the suitability, preparedness and training of the steward himself--since the respect he enjoys is also a function of these. The proper selection of stewards also makes the work of the party organizations, other mass movement organs and of the economic managers easier. For this very reason who the stewards will be must not be entrusted to chance. One of the great results of our socialist growth and of the work of our party and social organs is that the number of those who gain more and more experience in political work and obtain higher and higher levels of social and political knowledge by means of political education is increasing year by year. The upcoming steward elections can do much in this area. The party organizations should give as many party members as possible assignments to cooperate in the work of trade unions. They should support and urge the nominations and election [as stewards] of those non-party individuals who are well prepared, qualified and who enjoy the respect and have influence on the masses. And after they are elected they must be taught and given advanced training which will insure their suitability. To take care of their task well it will be necessary for them to acquire political, economic, wage and labor knowledge.

Important in the work of the stewards are the training and organizing activity which they perform among their fellow workers. They fulfill their true role when in the course of everyday work, living together with the workers,

they shape and mold their environment with their respect, influence, with convincing words and exemplary behavior, and gain validity for the immediate and for the general interests of their fellow workers. The steward is a representative of his colleagues not only in the forums. He also represents the public interest when he takes a stand and acts to protect the interests of the individual and of the group, and also when he does so in the social interests of the greater community of all the workers.

Good work assumes having a well-rounded store of information and a thorough knowledge of the interrelationships. For this it is necessary, on the one hand, to be well familiar with the group's viewpoint and opinion, and on the other hand it is also important to receive the necessary information. Implementing this depends primarily on the party organization and on economic management.

The quality of information is one of the basic conditions of participating in decisionmaking, implementation of the rights and obligations. Economic management must develop such conditions that all authorized persons should in possession of the information be really meritorious participants of the decisionmaking and help implement them.

The Exercise of Rights

Primarily the steward is a sociopolitical factor. Being well informed on the daily and long range issues is an indispensible condition of being able to implement his wishes in a well thought out manner and with the tools of political work with conscious organized cooperation, and to exercise his rights when necessary. The point must be reached where implementation of these rights should be a natural process.

There is significant progress in the stewards exercising their circle of authority guaranteed to them by law, but it is not free from problems, either. One of these is the very thing that the level of exercising their rights is not uniform. This derives in part from the weaknesses of their own activity, but also from reasons independent of them. It is seen many times for example in exercising their right of [necessary] concurrence [egyetertesijog veto?] that the opinion of the stewards does not always prevail in awarding bonuses. When wages and bonuses are distributed--according to the old customs--the factory foursomes still play a significant role, so much so that the steward's right of concurrence is limited to acknowledgement. Much uncertainty can also be seen in implementation of the right to render opinions and submiting proposals. That is, the exercise of this right manifests itself primarily in the forums. But it enjoys lesser implementation in connection with overtime work, authorizing part time and second jobs, proposals concerning advanced education, reassignments and discharges, determining the performance requirements, establishing financial responsibility.

The exercise of the control function is similarly weak. There is much instinciveness in this, adequate planning is missing. The situation is better in exercising the right to represent. As far as the right to

object is concerned, this is being exercised primarily in connection with wages. It illustrates the increased respect for stewards that it is sufficient to merely mention the prospect of this veto as a possibility and right away usually the arguments are settled on the basis of the proper viewpoint. But in other questions giving in is not rare. The recently conducted joint sessions provided many examples that some of the stewards profess the principle of "peace is better," and do not take the initiative even in cases of obvious infringement on some rights.

In connection with the scope of the stewards authority we must clearly declare that the trade union committees can in no way take over exercising their rights guaranteed by law. Therefore in all respects they are the ones accountable before the membership for performing their functions well.

The increased spheres of rights and authorities of the trade union stewards have thus far successfully served our political goals. Practice has fully proven the correctness of this step. So much so that it is viable not only in the factories but also in the offices and institutions.

Political Direction of Party Organizations

It is obvious that the more successfully the party organizations fulfill their political guiding and organizing roles, the more favorable the working conditions of the trade unions and the stewards are. The party organization's political influence depends to a large extent on the number of communists working in the trade union, on their training, on systematic control and evaluation of their work. In some places about one-third of the party members do their party work directly in the trade union. Further steps are necessary providing them with political direction, particularly in the basic organizations. Party direction cannot be limited to the person responsible for organization or for mass organization. It should be the task of the party leadership and of the membership meeting. We could also more often take advantage of the opportunities provided by the conferences of activites. Besides this there are also great opportunities in working out and implementing the political questions.

The role of all economic, social and political factors of factory life is vigorously growing among the general conditions of the socialist economy and in harmony with this also among the requirements of modern management of the enterprises. The role of one-person economic management is significantly growing, particularly in the areas initiative taking, foresight, the ability of circumspection, taking realistic and courageous risks, receptiveness for new things. There are increased requirements on the party organizations in [the areas of] political evaluation of the enterprise's activity, opening up and making use of the reserves of the economic operation, consistent implementation of the socialist economic operating principles, or in a word in guaranteeing all political conditions of production. Similarly, new requirements are also being defined for the work of the mass organizations. In addition to more efficient implementation of the various interests their

function of protecting the interests will also receive an increased role and will in many respects become more complex. They will have to do better organized and more successful work in the communist education of workers, improving their general, job-related and political education and increasing their social and productive activity. We must evaluate the contextual requirements of trade union work, the directions of changes in it, and also the work of the stewards in this regard.

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WEEKLY DISCUSSES PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 17, 26 Apr 80 pp 1, 14

[Roundtable discussion with Professor Antonina Kloskowska, a sociologist from the Warsaw University; Dr Julia Tazbir, historian and teacher from the Mikolaj Rej High School No 11; Professor Grzegorz Bialkowski, physicist from the Warsaw Univerity; Professor Janusz Gorski, minister of Science, Higher Education, and Technology; and Dr Wincenty Grajewski, Polish philologist from the Warsaw University. The weekly POLITYKA was represented by Magdalena Bajer and Maciej Ilowiecki]

[Text] [POLITYKA] Throughout the years our society has come to believe that higher education is the main path to a career. At the same time we have been able to convince people that it is one of the significant opportunities offered them by socialism. The access to college was supposed to be a factor to eradicat social inequalities.

Today we know that social expectations do not match the needs and the potentials of the economy. Not everybody who wishes or deserves an access to higher education is accepted to a university. This brings the feelings of injustice, frustration, and discouragement. Many people begin to believe that university studies become increasingly elitist, attainable only to the "chosen ones"--not necessarily the "best ones"....

But, perhaps, we should start with the chances of higher education for this year's applicants to universities. What has changed in the selection process?

[GORSKI] First, let me note that in the first half of the 1970's the number of students has significantly increased by more than 50 percent (from 320,000 to almost 480,000 people). This was the answer to the social aspirations, the country's needs, and population growth--at the time the growing teenage population reached the college age. This situation began to change around 1976 with the gradually progressive drop in the number of the 19-year olds. Thus, while there were some 720,000 of them in 1975, by 1979 their number had dropped to some 580,000, and we expect that by 1985

it will drop to 480,000. After this we envisage a new rise. I would call these objective conditions. But there is also another condition, or limiting factor--if you will--namely, manpower needs. And this is directly related to the question of educational goals.

[POLITYKA] Here is our question, then: should we attain an education to become wiser, or to become a specialist needed by this or that branch of economy?

[GORSKI] To be honest, there are two sides to every coin. When we ask college applicants, they tell us that they want to learn, acquire knowledge, and these are their only goals. We hear the same from parents: getting education is the most important....However, the same people when becoming juniors and seniors in college tell us that we ought to secure jobs for them commensurate with their educational level and that they should have thought of that earlier.

[KLOSKOWSKA] It seems to me that on the one hand we would like higher education to be highly accessible and on the other hand we do not want to abandon the exclusive position that the higher education offered in the past when university studies were much less accessible. I doubt if the preservation of both functions is at all possible.

[GORSKI] I have not met a college graduate yet who would like to be a salesman in a store or a public transportation conductor....As the last resort they agree to perform a job different from the one they were trained for, but the other job ought to be in the category traditionally ascribed to members of the intelligentsia, that is a "mental" (or white-collar) job. We should note here that in our country the difference between a blue-collar and white-collar job is still very sharp--much sharper than, let say, in the United States. Our young engineers when employed as foremen with good salaries as a rule complain that their creative potentials and technical qualifications are being wasted. They charge the authorities with pursuing improper personnel policy....

[POLITYKA] Can you say that the personnel policy is always proper?

[GORSKI] I must state that the demand for personnel with higher education does not increase as fast as people's aspirations. We expect that many specialists will be absorbed by the so-called services of higher order which we plan to develop. By the way, in some Western countries the unemployment of people with higher education today reaches up to 20 percent of the total number of those unemployed.

[POLITYKA] In Poland, the public--we wish to repeat that--views the access to higher education as more severe than finding the right job later.

[GORSKI] Let us not forget that our universities have limited physical potentials in terms of laboratories, classroom space, teaching aides, equipment as well as instructors. In this situation excessive increase of

students would lead to lower educational standards. After all, we are concerned about the quality of education! Under present conditions we would not be able to maintain quality without keeping the number of students at the same level, or even lowering it somewhat.

[POLITYKA] What do you mean by "lowering it somewhat?"

[GORSKI] In the last 5 years (I am including 1980) we have reduced the number for the day study programs from 71,500 to 60,000. This means reducing of the student recruitment by 16 percent. The evening courses are affected even more--from 42,000 to 30,000 people (about 28 percent), however, the public is less concerned over this. In fact, we hear voices demanding the dismantling of college evening divisions intended for those employed.

I would like to say here that despite the facts outlined above the so-called educational level (percentage of students for each age group) has not dropped, but actually increased a little. This should be obvious, however, because presently the college age groups are less numerous. Since 1975 over 10 percent consisted of full-time college students. If we add the evening programs for the employed, we have about 17 percent. This means that one out of six young people in our country can pursue higher education. This means a great deal from the viewpoint of our economy's needs....

According to Jean Fourastier, prominent French sociologist and expert in this area, the university level education in a modern society should not exceed 20 percent [of the population]. We would like to reach this level by 1985-1988.

[POLITYKA] And yet we are persistingly returning to the starting point: people believe that it is increasingly difficult to get to college....

[GORSKI] Well, the figures are clear: in 1975-76 we had 2.7 candidates for every slot, and in 1979 we had 2.3!

Access to higher education has increased. Let me add that for many programs we accept everybody who passes the entrance examinations.

[POLITYKA] It would seem that we have an ideal situation....

[GORSKI] In the last 2 years all who passed the entrance examinations to polytechnical and engineering schools were accepted. And there are fields where we do not have enough applicants, for example, physics and mathematics. Several fields still considered particularly attractive such as art history, Mediterranean archeology, or, let say, Iberian studies are traditionally crowded.

[POLITYKA] How many people passed the entrance examinations and yet were not accepted?

[GORSKI] In 1979--a little over 6,000 and this number for the most part covers such fields as law, pedagogy, psychology, archeology, and history. If all applicants who passed the entrance examinations in these fields were accepted, the number of students in these fields would have increased by 100 percent!

[POLITYKA] What changes, then, have been introduced this year in the selection procedure?

[GORSKI] None of significance. We have limited somewhat the privileges accorded to top graduates of the secondary schools (they are selected by their respective high schools, and we accept some 5,000 of them each year). Until now these applicants had the right to select any field of study, but this year we have introduced the principle that the field selected conform to the type of school the candidate graduated from. For example, top graduates of technical secondary schools can be accepted without entrance examinations by technical colleges but if they want to study history they would have to pass the entrance examinations for this field. Similarly, top graduates of economic secondary schools can enter economic colleges without examinations, or after graduating from agricultural schools they can automatically enter agricultural colleges, etc. However, top graduates of high schools have a free choice. The other change is that the top graduates of secondary schools selecting studies in foreign philologies must be tested on their knowledge of foreign languages, or in architecture--or their drawing skills; in art and physical education colleges other similarly relevant tests will be required.

[BIALKOWSKI] There is also another problem: top high school graduates and winners of academic competitions, who are also accepted by colleges without examinations, choose mostly the few top colleges. For example, in my department they comprise up to 80 percent of all applicants which does not leave enough slots even for those who did well on the entrance examinations.

[GORSKI] We have introduced a 25-percent (last year 20-percent) limit for both top high school graduates and winners of the academic competitions. Colleges certainly have a problem with selecting the best of the best--some of them introduce evaluations of final grades received by the applicants in high schools. One can think of another solution. In any case, some of the top high school graduates must go to other colleges.

[POLITYKA] This continuous multiplication of choices and typology does not seem to be a good solution. For example, a school chooses a top graduate--is it always possible to avoid errors or pressures in a situation like that? Then, another choice is made among the top graduates....In addition to that there is a common belief that the top graduates as a rule do not "make it" in college.

[GORSKI] This is an example of how untrue many of the common beliefs are. Analyses show that in the freshman year the percentage of failures among top graduates is only slightly smaller than that for all freshmen, however, later the top graduates get a clear edge over other students.

[POLITYKA] Thus, the changes affect only the top graduates?

[GORSKI] This year, yes. Starting in 1981 we plan to introduce an introductory semester on a trial basis in some colleges. It will be intended mostly for graduates of vocational secondary schools (where the level of academic subjects is usually lower). These graduates will be accepted without entrance examinations after completing military service or with at least 2-year working experience.

Special social commissions on the voivodship level will select candidates for this zero semester; I do not exclude there preferences given to voivodships deficient in skilled cadre. Through a system of company-sponsored fellowships and internships we will try to tie these students with their home region. During this semester the students would be prepared for regular studies and undergo a strict selection process. Their studies would have a full-time character and they would be given living quarters in dormitories.

We plan to recruit some 3,000 regular students this way, but we will accept some 4,000 candidates for the introductory semester. Later--as a complete zero year [supplementary]--it will probably constitute an additional way to enter college after the 10th grade. We believe that it will increase the chances of the sons and daughters of workers and peasants. The social composition of students and particularly of applicants for college is disturbing. In recent years we have been accepting as freshmen 41.5 percent of youth with a worker or peasant origin, while we have some 70 percent of such youth in Poland. The decline in applications has been noted particularly among the peasant youth; today they do not exceed 10 percent of the total.

[KLOSKOWSKA] We should also keep in mind that in the specialized-direction school, planned after the 10th grade, selection processes will occur which will be socially unfavorable. For various reasons the daughters and sons of workers and peasants will have a limited interest in a school like that. Thus, the introductory year mentioned above may offer them a real chance.

[BIALKOWSKI] We have noticed that at the Physics Department in Warsaw many graduates of technical secondary schools, who did poorly on the entrance examinations, do very well later. Therefore, the idea of a zero year [supplementary] seems to be right, particularly since it will serve as a complementary channel.

[POLITYKA] However, the multitude of these channels and ways to college accompanied by the involvement of all sort of commissions on various levels in the selection process increases the opportunities to use the "back door." There is no need to beat around the bush; both parents and applicants believe

that too often getting accepted depends on the "pull." Such belief--which we do not consider a valid one--is a social fact and therefore it must be taken into account. And perhaps something should be done to prevent the origin of such beliefs; there is the need for more forceful elimination of the possibility of all kinds of abuses or unjustified privileges.

[GORSKI] Clear abuses occur only rarely. There were rare cases of bribery (e.g. some time ago in Bialystok); the guilty ones were punished.

[POLITYKA] Bribes are, perhaps, a lesser evil, because they are so obvious. Greater problem is created by all kinds of attempts at "legal pressures," utilization of the statuses of parents or their friends, application of so-called "social arrangements." These are--as commonly perceived--the source of injustice and social demoralization.

[GORSKI] We are trying to prevent that. The written examination, which in most fields decides the result of the entrance examination, is anonymous and has the form of a test. I think that opinions on abuses in this area are greatly exaggerated. I believe that the examination commissions work honestly and univeristy rectors resist pressures.

[POLITYKA] We would like to convince our readers of that....However, the most important problem which is also the subject of this discussion is the access to higher education. Higher education is not equally accessible to all young people and the main reason for that is the unequal level of education in secondary schools. It seems, then, that most of all it is necessary to attempt the equalization of the start at the foundations and to offer good educational preparation to candidates from all social groups and all geographical areas. For the multiplication of all sorts of "equalizing preferences," points, introductory periods, etc. is only of an intermediate value, or a necessary evil.

[GORSKI] Studies show that the chances of a child, whose parents have only elementary education, to get to a college are several times lower than those of children whose parents have a higher education.

[TAZBIR] If a school is not good it becomes an undemocratic factor which introduces social differentiations in the strongest way. Of course, the very gifted will go to college even if they attended a bad school....

[GORSKI] The very gifted do not constitute more than 10 percent of the total.

[TAZBIR] For the less gifted even finishing a village elementary school is an unsurmountable barrier. Similarly, higher education is beyond the reach of an average graduate of a bad high school. So the problem lies in the school.

[BIALKOWSKI] I think that in the kindergarten....

[KLOSKOWSKA] If among 130 applicants at the Sociology Department in 1979, 100 failed Polish, then the schools certainly had not prepared them for college.

[BIALKOWSKI] We observe continued deterioration of the knowledge of mathematics and physics despite the fact that the same requirements have been maintained for many years and which cannot be lowered. The preparation of the candidates has been criticized for years and yet there is no change.

[POLITYKA] One can ask if the entrance examinations must be exclusively focused on knowledge acquired at school. A person selecting a field of study should probably know more about it than offered by the school program. He should be able to prove his interest by discussing additional readings on the subject, etc. And yet the applicants (and their parents) often are angry that they were asked to provide information not discussed at school.

[TAZBIR] Of course--most of all the applicants should be tested for the ability to think, to associate facts, to make independent judgements, and not just for textbook knowledge.

[GRAJEWSKI] I have been a member of examination commissions many times. I must say that in the last few years I can see not so much a drop in the educational level of the applicants, but something that I would call the lack of individuality, disappearance of independent thought. The applicants in general are familiar with the facts, let us say that they know them fairly well. But beyond that the hide behind formulas and cliches; no trace of their own thoughts! One is terrified when they make general statements--it is a horrible "declarative rattle"....I think that there is an urgent necessity to act against this phenomenon, tragic form an educational point of view. I guess, on the one hand these young people simply have difficulty in formulating their thoughts. They cannot speak or write correctly. On the other hand--and I do not know which is worse--many of them simply believe that the commission expects this kind of sloganeering from them....Of course, not all represent this level, and when an applicant comes who speaks from his heart, with conviction, who can give a simple account of a book read, the commission greets him like a savior! We wait for applicants like that, those have a "trace of personality," clear interests.

[POLITYKA] We have also heard that college applicants do not know how to take examinations; they cannot concentrate, waste time, worry about things they should not worry about, or they think that the commission is there only to help them to pass, to serve as a prompter, etc. Perhaps, the school should tell them what the examination is all about?

[GRAJEWSKI] Yes, very little is said about these matters. By the way, publication of the examination questions along with positive results has also produced negative effects. Applicants often limit themselves to preparing a couple of sentences as a ready answer to a known question without making any effort to learn the facts, read and remember appropriate texts. And after reciting flawlessly, and sometimes persistently repeating these sentences they stop and...fail the examination. The examinat'on--even

a short one--is an attempt to honestly test an applicant's knowledge and his ability to do something with it. And the ready formulas (mostly plain cliches) are only a feigned knowledge.

[POLITYKA] Probably all of us agree that in a situation when the university space is limited only the most gifted and the best prepared should get access to higher education. We have also agreed that not all gifted children have an opportunity to attend good schools. The problem is, then, to select those gifted from a mass of poorly prepared ones. The existence of this problem, however, points again to the school as the source of this difficulty: until there is a good school...and the circle is closed, we have returned to the starting point.

[KLOSKOWSKA] The school is as good as its teachers, and these are educated in our colleges....

[BIALKOWSKI] I think that a question should be posed: does it make any sense to maintain separate teacher specializations in some college departments?

[GORSKI] Right now such specialization exists only in the departments of physics, mathematics, chemistry and biology.

[BIALKOWSKI] After all, these are major subjects in school....

[POLITYKA] It seems to us that in a situation when the prestige of the teaching profession is not high the formation of separate educational courses--which popularly are considered "less desirable"--is probably not advantageous. Most of the students in all fields in universities are future high school teachers regardless of their enthusiasm for the job. We know that the best students do not take it. And the best applicants do not select educational courses at the beginning because they consider them only a necessity. This way the unfavorable selection of teachers is being perpetuated and this affects the high school students preparing for college.

[GORSKI] All experts agree that mathematicians, physicists, chemists and biologists trained for the economic sector must have different range of knowledge and skills.

[TAZBIR] One of the factors lowering the teacher's prestige is his social and material situation. Our profession along with postal and health care workers for many years has occupied one of the last places on the wage list. This contributes, among others, to the feminization of our profession and departure of gifted and energetic people.

[BIALKOWSKI] The teaching profession is unusually difficult and hard. Therefore, few people elect it at the beginning of their studies hoping that later they will be able to do something else.

[POLITYKA] Would it be possible--as it was some time ago--to educate everybody according to the same program, containing elements of knowledge needed for a future teacher, or would it produce deficiences in acquiring knowledge in other fields?

[BIALKOWSKI] We discussed this problem in our department, and there was no consensus. It is a common knowledge that after graduating from college it is necessary to get a lot of practical experience in every profession. This experience is mastered better when one has a better general training.

[POLITYKA] This concerns also--and, perhaps, particularly--teachers, since it is not just a profession, but above all a social role. It is the college which should give the best general preparation to perform in this profession, and the social policy should be capable of recruiting the best candidates for it.

[KLOSKOWSKA] We can pose a general question, should higher education prepare performance for professional duties, or--should it be more general--a preparation for the role of an intellectual in society. In the past the latter was favored. Now we are leaning toward the former. How can we accomplish a synthesis of both? It is a problem of great importance.

[BIALKOWSKI] We must recognize a sort of a conflict between the type of education offered by colleges and the belief in the necessity of college study which has become so accessible. In the past a person who had a high school diploma was considered an educated person. Today even a Master's degree does not guarantee respect. We should remember, however, that a high school diploma signified the end of general education, college studies, no matter how broad, have a professionally narrow focus. After high school there were many paths to choose. A college graduate has a limited number of them. That is why higher education does not yet guarantee anybody a position of an intellectural in contemporary society.

[POLITYKA] The question of the model of college studies is of great importance: should they be more professional or more academic?

[GORSKI] We will not be able to solve this problem now and who knows if there is an answer to this question at all as long as a college diploma is considered a "career ticket" to life. Let us not fool ourselves, many people want to get higher education only for their own satisfaction.

[POLITYKA] Regardless of motives the drive to attend college is a terrifically positive phenomenon.

[GORSKI] And we are trying to take advantage of it. We envisage that we will be able to maintain the enrollment levels of 60,000 full-time students and 30,000 per year in the evening divisions a year until 1985. Since the number of college age youth will be declining there will be relatively

more slots for those wishing to pursue higher education. At the same time we want to continue increasing the requirements and to boldly pursue even stricter selection among the enrolled students. After 1985 the numbers of students are expected to rise again.

I would like to point out in addition to the normal path from high school to college there are also other ways to get higher education. We refer sometimes to the British "open university"--it has 40,000 enrollees. We have 170,000 employed people who study part-time in the evenings. The "open university" does not offer any privileges, our evening study program offer considerable privileges such as vacation, travel reimbursements, etc.

We are thinking about--we have already started some activities in this direction--creating an "open university" in Poland, with location in Warsaw. Everybody will be able to study there; there will be no examinations, but also no privileges. It will be a college for those who wish to broaden their horizons; they will be able to listen to series of lectures in various disciplines (there will be no laboratory practice), and even obtain a diploma, but this diploma will not certify their professional qualifications....This kind of diploma-certificate is offered by the British "open university." We will see how many people will be able to take advantage of an opportunity like that.

[POLITYKA] Last question to Minister Gorski: could you briefly give advice to college candidates this year?

[GORSKI] Instead of briefly, I will give two examples: first, they should realize that studies take several years, but work in their professions afterwards will take dozens of years. They should not picture themselves in college, but at work in the future....Second, they should approach the examinations with their own views of the world and the field they want to study.

8609
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VIEWS ON LITERARY DEMOCRACY, LITERARY VALUE PRESENTED

Against an Error in Judgement

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Andi Andrieş]

[Text] I suspect that there are several shades of meaning in the attempt to most accurately encompass the definition of literary democracy. Does this literary democracy mean the same thing as socia' democracy? I believe that we must not start from the possibility of an absolute similarity. The differences reat in magnitude, means, finality, and component structures. In speaking of literary democracy we use a metaphor which communicates almost exactly what we mean. And in my conviction, what we mean to include in this topic are the following:

The state of public opinion about the literary phenomenon;

A balanced, lucid, precise, and responsible expression of critical diagnosis in perfect counterpart to the value of the creation;

Avoidance of circumstantial partisanship subjugated to group interests and contrary to the truth of our literary movement;

The unafraid and uncomplicated affirmation of value judgement, from praise to rejection, but with the decency of good sense, without bad faith, without hidden intentions, and I repeat, with justification.

And of course, other things as well. To continue would only complicate the issue. But as of now, simplification does not mean simplifying observations. It is clear that what we call literary democracy stimulates the instillation of values in the readers' consciousness. The mere presence of this consciousness in the discussion lends it a major, serious aspect. Without public awareness, literary democracy is not real but apparent, and generates no effects but only small inner circle responses. But it is equally clear that the affirmation of a value does not depend exclusively on climate, that pro and con debates on literary works can raise a temporary, sometimes even sharp, interest, but that they cannot assure lastingness.

In my opinion, the democracy of literary life includes the capability for a cultural collectivity to have divergent opinions, but does not presuppose that which I don't believe I am alone in finding repugnant, namely, invective or calumny, the interpretation of white as black, on the simple ultrasubjective and at times dangerous grounds of "That's how I see it, and I have the right to say it!" We indeed have the right to say it, but public pronouncements, statements for all to hear have the certification of position, or even of national representation. The right to rebuttal, to polemic, serves to freshen the cultural pace, attracts -- and even ultimately attests to -- non-conformity and intelligence, but our publications often offer space to points of view which under the guise of daring and in the name of literary democracy, demonstrate an unsupported aggressivity. Actually, my own statements here are a form of literary democracy. Few people have the monopoly of definitive expression, and most of us barely seek to come as near as we can to this expression. But I remain convinced under any circumstances that attacks against the fund of traditional values on which we in fact base our contemporary cultural life, are far from being one of the interpretations of literary democracy. On the contrary, this acts against errors in judgement, doubtful taste, false priorities. Real values actually remain intangible and persist despite eventual arguments. Just as no overinterpretation, no false arguments on merit, can resist the tacit competition of the true creative force. Examples of this abound.

I believe that at no time can a lost cause be defended in the name of literary democracy, other than causes that deserve to be defended. As a collective expression, the battle of opinions in this domain must respect one of the unwritten laws of collectivity, by means of which the electorate of values must operate in relation with our common, local, specific existence. Especially since each one of us, specialist or not, is deeply involved in the constantly moving mesh of literary democracy. The concept thus becomes a civic one, and the cultural attitude becomes moral and held by all.

Role of Criticism

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Radu Mares]

[Text] When applied to culture, I believe that a concept from the political sphere, such as democracy, discloses an essential aspect of artistic thought. Stendhal himself was interested in the activities of coal workers, in tyranny, in revolutionaries, and generally speaking in politics, but his trunkful of manuscripts was destined for posterity. Stendhal behaved like a conspirator: he wrote in code, and proudly consoled himself that 50 years later he would be read and famous. The hard, unforgiving historical experience shows how risky these dreams of posthumous glory are, not so much for the artist himself, as for his world; the world for which he increasingly becomes responsible; and whose problems he can no longer leave for future generations but must assume to the end, to the bitter end, here and now. Artistic thought has become radicalized. That is why I will return to a basic question, the absorbing concern for the quality of the artistic and intellectual climate. The ancients told us that there are

times when the muses are silent, and today we know but too well that wars are not the only circumstances that produce such sick silences, or even worse than silences -- actually a form of revolt -- discouragement, apathy, somnolence among empty words, among hollow nouns. The values of art can survive only in the pure atmosphere of freedom of thought and speech.

The problems of literary criticism have become the exclusive grounds of criticism itself. Heavy words have been uttered against those who even if well-intentioned, have risked to say anything without being invested, without a "critic's license". Such pompous authoritarianism makes me think of esoteric brotherhoods. And even admitting that I may be wrong or that I exaggerate, I believe that dialogue, debate, liveliness, research, and even polemic are vital needs of a healthy literary life, while interminable monologues depress me even when they are full of wisdom.

A significant and still neglected fact has appeared in the gravitational field of literature, the readers' huge appetite for reading matter. While the problem falls within the competence of cultural sociology, its effects are accessible to all. During the last decade, the number of book buyers has grown at a formidable rate, but the printing of books and magazines has remained the same or has decreased. The question of success cannot even be raised in normal terms, as long as for instance, any novel, good or bad, domestic or foreign, is sold immediately and even under the counter. The same is true of magazines, memoirs, tales, short stories, fictionalized biographies, and so on. A printing of 100,000 copies no longer means much. Under these conditions, the role of criticism in magazines naturally remains insignificant in terms of guiding taste, preferences, and so on. I can even imagine the comic situation in which after using all sorts of subterfuges, a reader finally gets his hands on a magazine where he reads a review of a book which cannot be found, or conversely, reads a novel that no one has reviewed. Drastic statements have recently been made about the teaching of the Romanian language and literature in schools. The generation to come will "have no Romanian" or "will have very little Romanian," just as others before it "had no Latin." The readers' problems should also be those of the critic and of the trade as a whole, as well as those of the magazines. Literary and cultural publications should fall in the largest number of hands. That's what I think.

New Orientation for Magazines

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Radu Petrescu]

[Text] The fact that books which confirm the postulate of diversity are published, means that readers in all categories, including those who are exigent about their pleasure, have an opportunity to be satisfied; this is especially true since the reprinting of some great Romanian books from before World War II has already begun some time ago and is now in full -- although in some cases, slower -- swing, while translations from foreign literature and criticism are also abundant. In this situation readers have almost all they need to acquire an idea of the value of our current literature, and of their position in the context of the national as well as contemporary foreign literatures. We can nevertheless assume that this idea alone is not

sufficient to outline a definite map of our cultural life at the present time. We first need to reread the important texts of our own literature and of those similar to us, then to see what is currently happening in other cultural areas, such as painting, music, and so on, and finally to correlate our observations. Neither of these actions are for amateurs. Both require broad wings. Timorousness of any kind has no place here. Have these two important steps been taken? For my part, I have advanced, beginning with "Two Lots," a suggestion for a sketch of the evolution of our prose, going from this Caragiale novel to the last two novels of G. Calinescu. It can be usefully discussed in connection with subsequent interpretation, aimed at any given precision, of the naturalistic Flaubertian concept in "More About Naturalism" (VIATA ROMANEASCA, 1978, No 9). I have offered this most modest example to point out that the grounds for some serious, profound research are being formed, grounds which themselves indicate the existence of a real critical spirit in full force, which also has formed a well defined image of values. To the objection that not enough time has passed for such an image to become legitimate, and that in any case the decision remains with posterity, we need only observe that time and posterity are only different names for a determination of taste, which is not to be confused with irresponsible arbitrariness. Posterity begins with the existence of those who are in a position to make such judgements. The question that has always been raised is whether they can or cannot publicly exercise their functions. Some difficulties have been glimpsed, not to mention the outrageous opinion that they don't even have the material upon which to exercise their faculties. If only two good books had been published since 1948, it would still have been enough. But if one of these is, and we all agree, "Mare Incognitum", the 1967 volume of poems of Dimitrie Stelaru, then the number of valuable books is much larger. If we assume let us say, twenty five, I don't believe that I would dishearten anyone's skepticism, even though an accounting of books is wrong in principle, since there are writers (critics among them) who are interested in the integrity of their works, who are not at all small in number, and whose writings as a whole add up to a considerable figure. It is nevertheless true that the small number of literary magazines does to some extent hinder critical expression. For the diversity of our reviews and of literature to be represented in a real and fertile dialogue, they would have to be matched by a larger diversity of magazines, which in turn could essentially be obtained by increasing their numbers, of if that is not possible, by changing the use of space in existing ones, so that the latter could acquire a dynamism and some coherence, representative of the different directions of artistic thought. There is for instance nothing to prevent a magazine from occasionally lending its contents to a group of writers, who would fill all its pages, voicing their communal styles under the friendly and collaborating supervision of the editors. The need to multiply our magazines would thus be met without changes in publications and without paper surpluses. The literary landscape would thus be illuminated from several directions, and its highlights would be more readily visible and understandable to more people, which is undoubtedly exactly what is being sought. The present stage is eclectic and its rather neutral aspect is often not devoid of distinction, because editors are making very well qualified efforts to

include within their given limits increasingly more work that is increasingly judiciously differentiated (passing over that which is contradictory here); as a result, magazines place overly heavy demands on the critics' understanding, which thus might be moved toward a certain indifference. I say certain, because in reality, the spirit of criticism is here as lively as always, except that it is adapted to unprecedented conditions in our history, or still seeking its optimum adaptation. A French critic gathers his texts in a rather voluminous book. He discusses 50 novels in superlative terms as if they were 50 masterpieces, and we find out in a last page of conclusions that he has written about 50 standard works destined to be forgotten immediately after being read. It is not impossible for the joke to be justified. In any case, in order to attain the desired hierarchy of values, magazines must, in addition to what I have said so far, abandon their rather traditional model, which for a long time has not corresponded to the realities of literary life, and following the example of critics, must create another, dynamic, appropriate model, perhaps in the direction outlined above.

Who Is Afraid of Competition

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Al. Stefanescu]

[Text] Many cultivated men react with indignation to a comparison of the type "writer A is greater than writer Y." They sustain that such rankings belong only in soccer. At first sight theirs is a "noble" reaction, implying as it does a clear distinction between mundane, vulgar concerns, and pursuits of a cultural nature. In truth, however, the denial of competition expresses a tendency to maintain a state of non-discrimination, of promiscuous mixing of values. In fact and not by coincidence, the most vehement opponents of axiologic classification are the mediocre authors themselves. It is true that, out of generosity or affectation, even great authors at times sustain the same point of view. But in the great majority of cases, these opponents have a vested interest in convincing the world that literary works must not be compared to one another in terms of value. And thank God, their wish is being pursued with greater zeal with every passing day. If we open a randomly selected cultural magazine, we immediately note that almost all the books are being discussed in the same doctoral and ceremonious language. Negative thunderbolts are sometimes launched, but only when motivated by a thirst for revenge. Seldom, very seldom, does the literary critic also demonstrate a sense of proportion, adopting a tone appropriate to the writings being discussed.

It is an interesting fact that in their inner selves, all these signers of monotonous apologies are well aware of the real situation. It can even be said that outside of the demagogic hierarchy -- according to which nearly all writers are molded of the same clay -- there also exists an unofficial hierarchy, extremely clearly defined in the minds of those who are experienced. No matter how much the reviewers say that some obscure second-rate book of verse has its own lyrical universe, the true lovers of literature will still know that none of it is so; what universe when there is not a smidgen of talent? And if so, what is the use of mystification?

One could answer that it serves no purpose, but also that it does no harm. As long as the initiates know the truth, why should we worry about the problem of respecting the truth?

However, the world consists of more than just initiates. Young people in particular, who enter with veneration into the world of books believing that the printed word is sacred, can under these conditions suffer a deformation of their esthetic sensitivity. Editors are already being addressed enough compositions of the kitsch category, which in addition to the usual awkwardness of the beginner, show an alarming inability to distinguish literature from non-literature. It is true that also from the ranks of the young come writers who, with the intransigent passion specific to their age, attempt to impose unadulterated literary hierarchies, even at the risk of being considered merely noisy. This proves that the process of negative influence is still at an incipient stage, but does not mean that we can look upon it without concern.

Another harmful effect of uniform criticism is disillusionment. Knowing that no matter how you write, you will still receive part of the avalanche of reflexive, protocolary enthusiasm, you will not feel very much like spending your nights to find "the word that expresses the truth."

As I have already stated, I am very skeptical about the possibility of escaping this impasse. The need for praise has long ago become vicious, like the need for nicotine or alcohol. I have my own experiences in this regard. In many publications, my articles are shorn -- sometimes without my being consulted -- of any definite value of judgement. They thus remain vague, uncertain, like the pleasant and uninvolved words of a soothsayer. And if after all, because of an editor's negligence, the text is published with a realistic affirmation, acquaintances ask me, shaken by the words: "Why do you express yourself so brutally? Have you no tact?"

The first step that the managements of literary magazines could take to escape this circle of amorphousness, would be to allow critics to have their say without restrictions (those who want to say it, of course!). It would not be easy, but it would be worthwhile.

As to the theory that ratings are needed only in soccer, we will just let it drop. Art has been and will always remain -- just as life itself -- a world of competition. The simple fact that through the intermediary of a book you try to tear the reader away from his daily cares or from the reading of a thousand other books, is already a sign of competition, of struggle. Democracy in culture does not mean an affectionate coexistence of nullities, but an unending striving to be the best.

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REVIEW OF RECENT WORKS ON IRON GUARD PERIOD

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 20 Apr 80 pp 46-47

[Article by Ion Schinteie: "With Regards to Certain Memoirs"]

[Text] In 1979, numerous works appeared that directly or indirectly concerned the great events that took place in our country during the first decades of this century.

First of all, there are those works containing letters, journals, memoirs and other similar documents. Their authors are: N. Iorga ("A Literary Struggle" and "Letters to N. Iorga"); Iorgu Iordan ("Memories"); G. Calinescu ("Letters and Documents"); Al. Rosetti ("Letters to Al. Rosetti); Martha Bibescu ("Political Journal"); Liviu Rebreanu ("Confessions"); Radu R. Rosetti ("Journal Files"); Gh. Dinu ("Barricades from the Inkwell") and others. Or, if we refer to letters, the authors are numerous correspondents in-country and abroad in contact with these persons via letters. With some exceptions, the ideology of the authors is frequently limited. They have, however, a common, anti-Hitlerist nature.

In showing what the situation was during the developmental period of the anti-fascist movement in Romania, during the period of our people's opposition to Nazi Germany and when the struggle for democratic freedoms and the defense of national independence were spreading ever more throughout the masses, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu wrote: "At the same time, important groups of the bourgeoisie, some financial elements of the National Bank and the vanguard of the bourgeois political parties realized the disaster facing Romania and took a position against the enslaving clauses imposed by Germany in economic agreements" (in "Romania On the Way to Completing Socialist Construction," Vol I, Politica Publishing House, 1968, p 372).

The period referred to by the documentary literature in the collection encompasses our centry from its decade up to now, a period of great efforts and fundamental changes in the history of the world and the history of our people. The value of the account is immense, with it presenting events that were seen and experienced, in other words truths, and, secondly, presenting personal views and opinions. Even these, however, are presented in a strict context of the period, in other words, intensely conducted lives, fiery passions and a sincere, unsophisticated message. Their emotional content is expressive and irradiative.

The prose of these texts contain the boldness of the people, which Iorga presents as "a brave people, filled with daring and stubbornness when it thinks it is right" ("A Literary Struggle," I, p 124). Their readers followed them with interest "when the works were taken seriously and he who took them seriously was morally interested in them" (Ibidem, "Preface" of 1914, p 3). Their verb contains that same daring. It is an ardent verb of a struggle, a verb where revolution and fury find the appropriate expressions.

When the Iron Guard killed the great historian, the news was received by G. Calinescu in this manner: "I am sadden by the bad news. Iorga! Paricid!" ("Letters and Documents" p 81). And, Calinescu again uses strong words when there is need to brand those "untiring channels who think only at work while the country is dying" (Ibidem, p 86). With regards to some of these channels, he says: "God strike down K. K. A true octopus! I want him and Duke Longobard crushed." Also in reference to the Duke (Mussolini): "When will the Italians regain their senses and bring down their ruler?" (p 94). The Nazi aggression against Yugoslavia is "the aggression of the hyenas." The position that he took two days after Iorga's assassination was "enough allusions to the man who was" (p 82). The channels sold out to the Nazis were " people who could not cut the claws of hate" ("Letters to Al. Rosetti," p 103). Regarding an Iron Guard religious service officiated by Crainic, the writer pointed out the "cries of the ox that had a nail penetrate its hoof" (p 275). "The episode at Turnu Severin bothers me" (p 107), he wrote, referring to the Hungarian-Romanian negotiations prior to the Vienna Dictate. "The times are too cruel" for Liviu Rebreanu ("Confessions"). And, also for him "order is disturbed by infamy." His statement, "What soul can bear the gangsters who plunder the meek?", shows his attitude of rejecting the events that he condemns and from which the great novelist disassociates himself vehemently.

When she noted certain events in her "Political Journal," Martha Bibescu was passionately taking part in this. "She, Didina Cantacuzino, transformed the house in which I was born, the house of the old locust trees, into a nest of gangsters, into a lair of green-shirted murders" (p 131). The plundering of the palace at Mogosoaia became, in her account, "a long period of oppression" carried out by "some sinister individuals" (p 225). How powerful was her writing when she expressed her hate and indignation: "The curse of the church and all blasphemies will fall upon the green shirts" (p 221).

And, Radu R. Rosetti ("Journal Files") puts his soul in his writings, remembering Iorga's "very good article:" "This Is a Country" in "The Romanian People," where the great historian objects to the Nazi economic pressures on Romania. For his part, Stefan Voicu, in the afterword to Gheorghe Dinu's book "Barricades from the Inkwell," writing about the group of authors who defended with their pen and sometimes with their life "the barricade of socialist culture," also names "our great and dear Geo Bogza."

But, not just the always incisive and many times virulent nature of these texts is interesting. The pages written with ardor and dignity and the courageously honored crude truths are compelling and attractive for other reasons.

There is an aspect of these documents that should not remain foreign, especially to our young contemporaries.

Regarding Nicolae Iorga, the poet Dimitrie Anghel wrote in "Branches" of Craiova in 1911: "We are speaking of a man who today stopped being popular and tomorrow or later he will become mythical and will certainly enter the world of legends" (p 371).

Iorga's murder produced a general blame and an immense disgust. It was a "parricide" as G. Calinescu stated. The witnesses of the time stated: "Iorga was mistreated prior to being murdered. His beard was pulled out. His murders filled his mouth with excrement" (Liviu Rebreanu). More: "A disgusting crime that dishonors the country." For Bratescu-Voinesti, Iorga's murder "filled him with horror" (Radu R. Rosetti). And, in Craiova a local newspaper wrote, comparing Miron Costin's murder to Iorga's:"Likewise, on a foggy fall morning, but 250 years later, the second great historian, Nicolae Iorga, fell victim to the same destiny, the same ignorance... In

ignorance, cruel destiny wants to be able to thrust its cursed bullets into Iorga's heart because it, this wretched destiny, does not permit the historical theories of the most brilliant mind of the people" (TRIBUNA OLTENIEI, "Destiny and Ignorance"). The official communique pretended that he was murdered by "some persons" who did not share his views.

There was not a single honest man in our country or abroad that was not horrified by the deed committed by the Iron Guard. It was a deed comitted by those which the above-mentioned, recently published, but written at the time of the events, documents called: "lawless," "cursed." "The views of the Iron Guard do not show me souls worthy of an ideal of good and right... merely the satisfaction of certain appetites" (Radu R. Rosetti). "The Iron Guard shot those persons who dared to stand up against the barbarism of fascism and defend the values of human culture and civilization" (Gheorghe Dinu). "On Calea Victoriei we encounter a column of Iron Guard members, green shirts, tousled hair, silly appearance. Priests and bullies marching together" (Martha Bibescu, p 206). Zozo Sturdza, the wife of the Iron Guard foreign minister, also called the fear of Bucharest, "walks on the dead." "A dangerous woman who does evil. A degenerate person, with a sick soul, a monster." Martha Bibescu adds: "Zozo is the one who heads the macabre quadrille. There was no effort to hide from me yesterday, right here in this room, that the wives of the current members of the Iron Guard government had a discussion with Mrs Antonescu to give a more vigorous push to the measures being taken... Zozo was pondering future targets for assassinations" (p 328). Regarding the crimes of the Iron Guard, eye witnesses wrote: "I saw some of the Iron Guard's devastation in Baratiei, Vacaresti, Dudesti. They are terrible, shameful things" (Liviu Rebreanu). Rebreanu also notes after the overthrow of the Iron Guard: "The world can breathe like after a nightmare, so badly did the Iron Guard terrify the world with its short-lived regime."

A nightmare, certainly, and the Iron Guard is rightly called "hare-brained," "cowardly," "monsters," "villians," "a band of assassins," "a nest of gangsters," "green murderers," "knaves," "provocateurs of despotism," "degraders of Nazism," "Horia Sima, chief of the murderers," "plundering thieves," and so forth.

They tried to murder Fl. Stefanescu-Goanga and Traian Bratu, the deans of the universities in Cluj and Iasi (I. Iordan).

The telling of these acts shakes even those who lived through them. They are amazing in their savagery. Now judged, you can bitterly decipher the meaning and an opinion can be formed about them.

The novelist Liviu Rebreanu considered the Iron Guard "a foreign body in the middle of our people," "a band of fanatics placed here to plunder the country." Martha Bibescu remarked in her "Political Journal" "that the Iron Guard movement does not produce a single echo in the ranks of the peasants." In Jilava, the killed 63 political leaders, they forced others to commit suicide, they planned the murder of another two thousand intellectuals and political leaders, after they already murdered 4,000, and they later moved against all the categories of fighters that threatened them. Their most inhumane and vicious hate was directed against the communists. Without the organizational measures taken by the communists, although they were still completely illegal, the Iron Guard cleaver would have fallen upon them with a rare ferocity. Thus, we can realize how salutary was the struggle led by the communists and their allies for the elimination of this green rot from our nation, the process of ridding the fascist cancer from the heathy body and the guiding of the popular masses towards those "lendemains qui chantent" about which the communist Gabriel Peri had spoken on the eve of his assassination at Mont Valerien by the Nazis, the patrons of the Iron Guard.

We must also note that all those who have served as witnesses in their works before the court of history on the criminal nature of the actions taken by the elements hostile to progress were great humanist personalities. Their testimony bears the seal of humanism, ardent patriotism and unlimited love for the country and our people. This is the source of their value and their amazing and powerful revealing force. This is also the source of the echo produced by these documents in the awareness of the people in our times, times marked by great threats springing up on the international scene.

At the Conference of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in September 1979, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "We should not lose sight of the fact that in recent times we are seeing on the international scene a reactivation of the darkest forces of reaction and fascism which, in different forms, are trying to bring back retrograde, racist practices and concepts, both in ideological and political affairs and in the social activities in different countries."

On this occasion, the secretary general of the party also added that there are reactionary circles which, with regards to Romania, are resorting to all types of misrepresentations and "to the negative presentation of our people's work and achievements." In their actions, they resort "to all types of lowly elements, fascist and Iron Guard elements from the past, and to those who betrayed their country and who are ready, for a price, to serve anyone... in order to slander socialism."

In the great newspapers, in periodicals and in weekly and monthly literary reviews, authoritative writers who have prestige and a frequent militant humanist passion have reminded us of what was and branded the criminal attempts of today and have brought attention to a world that because of too much interest or simple inertia is inclined to forget that it is dangerous and even criminal to repeat the mistakes of the past.

Do not forget a Geo Bogza, a consistent and decisive defender of enlightened humanism, whose passionate and masterly verb unveils, artisically enlightens and coalesces awareness in the defense "of the writings at the barricades of socialist culture," as Gh. Dinu said. A Zaharia Stancu would express this with full vigor. Do not forget a scholar like Iorgu Iordan. And, how many other writers can be recalled, fighters with a stinging verb, contemporaries of Gheorghe Dinu, of "the red prince," as the anti-fascist blue-blood Scarlat Calimachi was nicknamed, of George Ivascu and of the others in their fight for the defense of human values, values highly prized by socialism.

We have faith in the young writers who do not have a need to throw off the weight of sad memories that exist in reality only in another time in the dreams of their predecessors.

The writings and documents mentioned above are of a nature to fill the awareness of the young writers with a fierce hate for any form of new fascist barbarism and to put their talents and all their creative energies in the service of the high ideals of socialist humanism.

They have the responsibility of continuing the work of their predecessors at a still higher level. They must keep clear of humdrum poetry that is devoid of emotional content and high patriotic feelings of militant commitment to prosperity

and true revolutionary humanism. All of the great present and inspired future belongs to them. And, as worthy followers of certain fighters at the barricades of socialist writing, they must illustrate the era with works of great meaning, works belonging to all peoples, full of enthusiasm, daring and humanism, expressing the sun-lit ideals of the world in which they live and whose interpreters they are.

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ROLE OF SOCIOLOGIST IN INDUSTRIAL UNIT DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 20 Apr 80 pp 51-52

[Letter to the editor from Irina Dobinda, a sociologist at the Timisoara Construction and Assembly Trust: "The Rules of the Sociologist in Enterprises and Institutes"]

[Text] My decision to write to you was prompted by the appearance of the note "Opinions Regarding Industrial Sociology Research" in issue No 3/1980, signed by Andrei Gutan. The problems discussed are important in our efforts to change the view, and not just the view, of the rules of the sociologist and, to an equal degree, of the researchers in sociology.

The appearance of this note in your magazine gave us the hope of the possibility of maintaining a dialogue, although we would like to say discussion, on the problems of the rules and role of the sociologist or psychologist. Our existence in the industrial enterprises of diverse types, in the research institutes and institutes of higher learning, and in other units reinforces my conviction of the opportunities for an exchange of experience with a broad response among the ranks of the leadership personnel in the enterprises and institutes.

I was employed at the Timisoara Construction and Assembly Trust in 1976, carrying out during this period, in accordance with the job description, a job with a sphere of activity partially corresponding to the sphere of activity in the statute rules for a "sociologist." Without pretending to exhaust the broad range of psychological problems that arise in a construction and assembly trust, allow me to dwell upon some of them, as understood from my own experience and observations made in the unit.

1. To the question, "In what department is it good for the sociologist to be employed?", I do not think there can be one answer. This is so for a number of reasons. First of all,

the functions of the enterprise cannot be regarded separately in a didactic delimitation practiced according to custom (or otherwise justified). In this sense, the personnel function, although it finds its direct expression in the organization of the personnel office, can be found again in its multiple aspects at all the levels of the other functions. Secondly, the existence of an organizational structure, a regulation for organization and operation, and a job description allows the sociologist to carry out useful, specific activities and, in some cases, with measurable efficiency. Thirdly, the full understanding of the technological processes in the enterprise is absolutely necessary for a sociologist, regardless of the compartment (bureau or office) where he works.

2. The fluctuation and instability in the workforce at construction sites are well known. The picture of the enterprise where someone "knocks on the trust's door" for a job is gradually structured according to employment. What are the factors that contribute to this structure? What does it mean for the enterprise to have those conditions (which?) that allow the worker to make the decision when to leave? What is the motivational hierarchy of those workers who have been with the trust for over 10 years? What are the results, over time, of the fluctuations in the workforce? These are merely some of the questions that can find their answers in the concerted actions of the unit's leadership, the mass and public organizations, the sociologist and the pyschologist. Alone the sociologist and psychologist could not give a satisfactory answer to these complex questions. They must be the catalysts of social actions, bringing about and pursuing the decisionmaking in the directions proposed by them as a result of studies.

3. In order to exemplify this same idea of collaboration, I would like to mention the role of the sociologist in achieving the optimization of the information and data system. This is an excellent means of understanding the functionality of the system and the enterprise. At the same time, it gives rise to the gradual possibility of intervening, directly or not, in resolving certain difficult situations (by increasing the degree of pertinence of the information necessary for decisionmaking, improving the afferent relations in the structure of the trust as such, systematically improving the organizational structure in accordance with the changes in the production process and so forth). Although, actually, all this is common to a number of types of enterprises, the specific type of work in construction allows the sociologist to have a vast and continuous field of action. Very important: for the sociologist and especially the decisionmaking factors at all the hierarchical levels of the unit.

4. Summarily reviewing the possibilities for action for the sociologist or psychologist, I could not lose sight of the specific problems of the compartment for worker safety. Because of technical or human causes, work accidents work negatively upon the psychological potential of the workers and not just upon them. They also produce dysfunctions in the normal operation of production processes. And, all this occurs in addition to the social problems raised as a result of the accident and in addition to its technical consequences. The careful research into accidents, where man had the leading role, must be part of the activities of the sociologist and psychologist. The prevention of accidents through the scientific understanding of human potential, in direct correlation with those jobs most often exposed to accidents, as well as the places at work with a high degree of danger, can be part of a possible "job description" for a sociologist and psychologist. Such an activity must be permanent or, rather, made permanent.

I want to thank the editors of this magazine for publishing the above-mentioned note and for many other articles dealing with our specialty or related specialties.

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SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR PRESS IN TRAVEL, COMMUNICATIONS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Apr 80 p 32

[Article: "Priorities and Facilities for Journalists," interviews by Traian Dumitrescu with Ion Nicolescu, first deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications and Lt Gen Marin Dragnea, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports.]

[Excerpts] Here is a question for Comrade Engineer Ion Nicolescu:

[Question] What measures has the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications taken, in light of the Press Law, to accord facilities and priorities for the exercising of the profession of journalist, in the area of railroad and highway transport, posts, telephones and telecommunications.

[Answer] The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications has given the CFR [Romanian railroad] travel agencies directions to give priority attention to satisfying the needs of newsmen for places on coaches and sleeping cars and has instructed the Bucharest North CFR Station that, if a newsman travelling on business cannot be assured of a reserved seat on a train, it should ask approval immediately, by telephone, from the travellers office in the Department of Railroads--the directorate for Traffic and Commercial Affairs and then issue the person an unreserved seat on the respective train.

Also, all highway transport enterprises have been given orders to give priority attention to satisfying the needs of newsmen for tickets, by means of the ticket offices in the auto or bus terminal travel agencies. In stations along the route, where there are no ticket offices, they should be given priority in boarding the bus.

Also, according to legal provisions in force, a newsman who works in another locality than that in which he resides can benefit from a rail or bus pass at a price which is much lower than the entire cost of the ticket.

In telecommunications activity, the post and telecommunications units have received the task of making available to the press organs, whenever they are

requested to do so, telephone and telegraph connections so that they can do their job. According to the legal provisions in force on the stipulation of the number of direct telephones in socialist units, one telephone each can be given to chief editors, deputy chief editors and correspondents in accordance with the needs of the publication, in addition to the telephones which can be installed on the basis of the number of personnel employed in the unit.

Also, provisions exist for the installation of telephones, on a priority basis, in the residences of chief editors of publications.

Here is a question for Comrade Lt Gen Marin Dragnea:

[Question] We would like to inform our colleagues about measures set forth by the National Council for Physical Education and Sports, in the light of the Press Law, to grant facilities and priorities for access of newsmen to sports events.

[Answer] Here are the measures in brief: reporters and editors of daily newspapers, journals and reviews of the central press, as well as those from Radiotelevision whose activity is devoted to physical education and sports can obtain press passes. These passes are valid for a year and are issued by the National Council for Physical Education and Sports [NEFS] on the basis of requests made by the editorial staffs. The passes are endorsed annually, at cost. For 1980, the price of an endorsement is 120 lei. The CNEFS also gives such passes to journalists who, although they are not sports writers, are interested in sports activity. The cost for them is 230 lei a year. The county councils for physical education and sports also issue such passes for the two categories of newsmen who work for the local press.

The stadia and the major halls in the country have places reserved for newsmen at the press stand. At large international sports events, in which foreign journalists participate, access to the press stand is organized by the Sports Press Association which issues special tickets for seats, giving priority to sports writers from the daily newspapers. The other holders of annual passes are assured access to section 0.

The CNEFS will continue to handle requests on the part of editorial staffs for tickets to important sports events. It is necessary that the editorial staffs present a single request for the entire number of tickets, two or three days before theevent. For Bucharest, ticket requests should be addressed to the propaganda sector of the CNEFS and for the local newspapers, they should be addressed to the leadership of the county councils of physical education and sports which have received strict orders from us in this matter. [Dumitrescu] The legal framework concerning priorities and facilities for newsmen in rail, highway, TAROM [Romanian airlines] transportation, in posts, telephones and telecommunications, in lodging in hotels and access to sports events has been created. The trade union committees in

the press should popularize these rights among the newsmen so that they will be well known. We ask the editorial staffs to monitor the way in which they are applied in light of the Press Law. Our review should be informed about any failures to observe these provisions so that the proper authorities can be notified.

CSO: 2700

FALSIFICATION OF RECORDS IN BUZAU SUGAR ENTERPRISE CLAIMED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 May 80 pp 1, 5

[Article by Sergiu Andon: "Can You Sweeten a Cup of Tea with 8,500 Tons of Sugar?"]

[Excerpts] A few months ago, a group of workers wrote a letter to the leadership of the party and to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stating that serious violations of the law had occurred in the sugar enterprise in Buzau. One of the main things pointed out was the failure to keep account of large quantities of sugar. At the personal direction of the secretary general of the party, the letter was assigned, for investigation, to the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity. After verification of the allegations, the violations of the laws were ended and the guilty parties were fired. The state organs were notified so that the investigations could be continued and expanded.

In light of the significance and the implications of the case, and benefiting from the conclusions of the investigative report, we will summarize the principal findings. By doing this, we are following the path of unceasing concern which the party, public opinion and our entire community has been demonstrating toward such deviations, treating them with a critical intransigence.

The details and ramifications of this case will be brought out during the penal case. Until then, one thing should be kept in mind: there was an incredible difference, 8,584 tons of finished product, between the production reported by the management of the Buzau sugar factory and the real stocks, a discrepancy existing for a number of years. In other words, the Buzau enterprise "reported" to the national economy a production inflated by 72 million lei, that is, it "manufactured" more than 8.5 million kilograms of sugar--only on paper, only by the pen. That was the situation in the "best" case. In the worst case, one should also keep in mind the hypothesis that at least a part of the piles of sugar was gone, that it existed in reality but that it "dissolved" in the pockets of some greedy people.

The fact that, defying all considerations of honesty, ethics and economic discipline and of responsibility toward society and in spite of the seriousness and the spirit of responsibility which the work of leadership, planning and statistics involves, abusive-careerist elements introduced and maintained a chaos of records, is of a seriousness which it is difficult to put into words. It is the expression of an absurd, aberrant mentality.

The fictitious story began to collapse at the beginning of the summer of 1979. In May, the accounting office of the enterprise was assaulted by the director (the former director) Dumitru Ungureanu with the order that they should recalculate and report "deliveries on wheels." All day long, they recalculated their figures but the director of the unit was not satisfied. He kept repeating: "I want deliveries on wheels. Give me only deliveries on wheels."

Why? The records showed a supply of more than [illegible],000 tons. On the basis of this information, the central had ordered that the supply be sent to a certain county. The stores in this county were asking for sugar. The factory in Buzau offered...delays. The reported supply did not exist. Thus began the toppling of the castle of empty figures, constructed on the sand of lies.

The situation needs no comment. What does it demonstrate? Lying, just like any other subterfuge, has no place in our moral, social and economic atmosphere or in any stratum of society. Falseness in records, in situations on which the social mechanism is based should be repudiated all the more. In the overall economic and financial balance, any fictitious report means, indirectly, a theft--a theft of the social product, of the wealth of society, to which the suppliers of fictitious data state that they have brought concrete values; but they only bring empty words and figures. What would happen if other enterprises proceeded like the Buzau enterprise? Fictitious reporting, untruths would mean shortages or gaps in products which would have repercussions on other enterprises and branches of production. The evil caused by lies would expand and would introduce disturbances which would be harmful to the mechanism of the national economy, striking a blow at the essential interests of society and of the workers. Individuals like former director Ungureanu receive "congratulations" and "bonuses" and other financial rewards for overfulfilling the plan when, in reality, not only have they not fulfilled their obligations to society but also they have attacked its interests.

In the Buzau enterprise, comradely relations were distorted by the unprincipled behavior of the director, from the maintaining of "cliques" to cruel and brutal outbursts against the workers. We cannot state (as of now) whether there has been wholesale theft in Buzau and how much has been stolen. It is the duty of the organs of penal prosecution to determine this without bias. There are many things which have come to light during the probe. Their verification should be generalized. A number of disturbing items should be elucidated by specialized state organs. Such as:

--there are at least 224 shipping invoices missing from the archives of the unit and there is no mention of the fate of the respective shipments;

--another 14 invoices have been canceled, with the absurd explanation that 28,000 kg of sugar (with a value of one-quarter of a million lei), went past the gate, traveled around the country and then returned obediently to the silos (!);

--and the situation of the shipments by rail is even more bizarre--some 265 cars were brought in for loading but, it seems, they left the silo empty;

--a still unknown hand, a mysterious hand has caused the disappearance of the principal records reconstituting real activity and deliveries: the production reports and the gate registries.

Examining the investigations carried out so far, one might naturally ask: How has the hierarchically superior body, the Central for the Production and Industrialization of Sugarbeets, reacted? The author cannot formulate a response to this question. Moreover, he is faced with a number of strange things. For example:

--year after year, the representatives of the central have carried out in-depth examinations but no one noticed the fact that the maintenance and circulation of documents and of printed material earmarked for special handling was carried out under conditions which almost encouraged fraud;

--no one noticed that, year after year, in the Buzau factory, inventories were "done" only in appearance and that there always appeared a dubious synchronization in grams of the stock on paper and the real stock;

--no one from the central noticed that the production record was not drawn up on the basis of production reports and notes on deliveries to the silos but, during decisive periods, on the basis of situations imagined by the head of the laboratory;

--the silos of Buzau were constantly overloaded with interminable "custodies" of stocks of other similar enterprises;

--instead of periodically emptying the silos so that the accuracy of the stock reported on paper could be verified, the sugar from Buzau was always mixed in the gigantic cells of the three silos with the sugar produced, actually or on paper, by other enterprises.

All these things--which might appear to us to be strange--are interwoven with other practices extending beyond the perimeter of the Buzau enterprise. Since the central deals not only with the industrialization but also with the production of sugarbeets, one of its principal norms of the

plan is the beet put into the production process (regardless of the price obtained); in Buzau, 40,000 tons of what was formerly sugarbeet (completely degraded) with a sugar content of ZERO, were put into the process. Energy, time, labor were used and machines were operated to obtai: 40,000 tons of garbage.

However, on paper, the results were splendid. It was well known that new factories such as the ones in Urziceni and Tandarei, were behind schedule in entering into operation. It appeared strange that the Buzau factory (swelling with stock) was buying...sugar. At the commercial price! And from whom! From the factory in Tandarei whose machines were not operating. If this strange and harmful trade had taken place, the game of figures would be completely dishonest since, for the central as a whole, the production would have, falsely, been listed twice: once for delivery from Tandarei (to Buzau) and once again for delivery from Buzau (to the trade network).

Lack of sincerity is profoundly contrary to the principles of our ethics. However, to deceive society and the state is tantamount to a crime. In the area of disciplinary and statutory measures, the deviations in Buzau have received a first response. The state organs will define more clearly the proportions and nature of the things that have occurred. Apart from this, it remains to be seen to what extent the bombastics of the data coming forth from the pen is connected with the cramped work style of offices, with the artificial crowding of specialists in sugarbeet growing, on the asphalt in the vicinity of Cismigiu [a Bucharest park]. Like many other centrals dealing with agriculture and the food industry, the Central for the Production and Industrialization of Sugarbeets has its headquarters in Bucharest, a big city in which not even one beet is grown and not even one teaspoon of sugar is produced.

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Prundus is appointed vice chairman of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 39, 20 May 80 p 5]

PUNGAN, BUMBACEA APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Vasile Pungan is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and appointed counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, minister state secretary. Comrade Vasile Bumbacea is appointed counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the rank of deputy minister. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 38, 16 May 80 p 3]

TROTUS APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Costache Trotus is relieved of his position as deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and is appointed deputy minister of the metallurgical industry and director general of the Galati iron and steel industrial central. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 38, 16 May 80 p 3]

AIR CRASH KILLS TWO--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian of 19 April 1980 p 4 reports the death, "in a tragic accident," of 29-year-old Teodor Ionescu, engineer pilot, and Mircea Pop, pilot instructor, commander of the Pitesti Airclub on 16 April 1980. The emigre publication BULETIN DE INFORMATILE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL, published in Paris in the Romanian language, of 1 May 1980 p 10 gives further details: "An air crash resulting in two deaths occurred in Pitesti on 16 April. Pilot Mircea Pop and engineer aviator Doru Ionescu were flying a training plane. For unknown reasons, the plane crashed immediately after take-off on the grounds of the Pitesti Airclub and the two aviators died. An investigation has been initiated to determine the causes of the accident." [Editorial Report]

BURTICA RECEIVES SPANISH BUSINESSMAN--Bucharest, 28 May, AGERPRES--On May 28, the Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Burtica, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Carlos Ferrer Salat, president of the Spanish Confederation of Management Organizations, who is visiting Romania. On the occasion, they approached problems regarding the increase and diversification of the commercial exchanges between the two countries, the possibilities of further developing the bilateral economic cooperation. [Text] [AU281913 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 28 May 80]

ROMANIAN-FRENCH JURIDICAL MEETING--The proceedings of the Sixth Romanian-French Juridical Meeting began today in Bucharest. The event is organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the French Society of Comparative Legislation. The meeting will debate current aspects of public, penal and civil law such as those dealing with economic self-administration and self-financing; sentences which entail privation of freedom and sentences which do not, and scientific research contracts. In their opening speeches, Prof Dr Docent Ioan Ceterchi, minister of justice and deputy chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and university Prof Roland (Dragaux), chairman of the French Society of Comparative Legislation emphasized the relations of friendship and cooperation established between Romania and France and the contribution made by their jurists to developing and diversifying the bilateral relations, in the spirit of agreements concluded at meetings between presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Valery Giscard d'Estaing. [Text] [AU262135 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 26 May 80]

CSO: 2020

INTELLIGENTSIA'S POSITION, RELATION TO PARTY DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 80 pp 16-17

[Interview with Prvoslav Ralic, director of the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Serbia, by Gojko Marinkovic: "Eternal Conflict Between the Intelligentsia and the Party"]

[Text] Question: Reading the fourth book by Prvoslav Ralic, director of the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Serbia, which recently appeared in bookshop windows, one gets the idea that this is a book that swarms with questions, a book which asks many questions and does a great deal of inquiring, but is much less ready with answers. The reason for this can perhaps be found in the first sentence of this book, where Ralic says: "Here is the first paradox: we wonder about intellectual commitment, but the answer to this question cannot be arrived at by means of the intellect." It is obvious, then, that this is a book concerned with the question that we have rarely put on the agenda--the relation between the intelligentsia and the working class, between the intelligentsia and the party. But if this is not a theoretical question, but above all a practical one, not in the sense of pragmatic, but in the sense of revolutionary practice, what is the reason for a book like this?

This was our first question in our talk with Ralic in the International Press Center in Belgrade, which previously was the Newsmen's Club, which is Ralic's favorite haunt, since he says that besides being a politician and university professor (lecturer in social anthropology at Nis University) he is a newsman, and that this was his first profession.

Answer: I am one of those people destined, all but commanded, to engage in intellectual work by the division of labor. And that makes me unhappy, since, as we see, what happens with what I do: a book comes out in some 1,500 or 2,000 copies in a society numbering 22 million! It is almost superfluous to comment. This is the intellectual's paradox, and that is his limit. It is nonsense to think that that role is greater, an illusion. To be vain, to be happy about a book, this is not a stance which we need, we must be concerned because of that situation.

Books and associated labor, that is a real topic, books in and of themselves are not, since there is no book in associated labor until there is a radical change in man's position in associated labor. The cultural inadequacy of the working class is an objective fact and is not culturological, but structural in nature: no one who is fatigued has time for books, books lie on the other side from him. Books cannot be an addition to life, something appropriate for the time on the other side of labor. Books must be labor itself. The Italian trade unions set a creditable precedent, one which has put the history of the working class movement into their debt, when at some point in the past they demanded that the workers receive full pay for time spent going to school. This is, of course, only a model, this is not the essence, I only want to emphasize how necessary it is to change the attitude toward books--toward creativity.

The Antinomy of the Conflict

Question: It seems to me that in your book you took up an area which Gramsci of all the Marxist theoreticians has dealt with the most, and in our party there has been too little reflection on these topics. I am thinking above all of two of Gramsci's terms: the party as a collective intellectual and the organic intelligentsia.

Answer: These two terms represent two good regulative categories, but I must immediately say that they have not had a full-fledged life in the workers movement as a whole. This is a preliminary paradox. Divided labor arranges that the intelligentsia is to be the creator, the producer of ideas, and on the other side we have the political vanguard, which refuses the intelligentsia this role--by the nature of things, since then the party is not the vanguard. And the entire history of the conflict between the communist movement and the intelligentsia is based on that antinomy, which I would say is almost ontological. This is not any mere division into sex or any kind of dogmatism, but the intelligentsia's failure to find a way to escape the world of the division of labor and the communist movement's failure to understand the productive power of the intelligentsia, which it cannot harness up as an instrument of the movement, but which it could introduce to the very purpose of the movement. Gramsci's term the "organic intellectual" is, then, the right term. The intelligentsia must not be an instrument of the communist movement, it must act out of the movement itself as its internal purpose, and not as its mere additional instrument, as an apparatus. And the conflict between the intelligentsia and the party down through the entire history of the communist movement, including our own, is based on that antinomy.

This is an almost everyday conflict, but there is a more essential conflict which is structural in nature. The spirit must be "harnessed" to the revolution, the revolution cannot do without it, the spirit is its internal dimension. How? In such a way that it will not have dignity in and of itself, but will alter the character of labor, the character of the movement, will become a motion which carries spirituality within it. At first these

are just ideas which do not jibe with reality, with our everyday actuality, but I think that they are worth advocating, worth, to use Lenin's expression, dreaming of, since they are fruitful visions we need, visions which are capable of turning our concerns from within to without.

Question: What we have been talking about so far still remains at the level of theory. Of course, neither our conversation nor this book can unfortunately change anything....

Answer: On that we agree, and put down the word "unfortunately" twice in the interview....

Question: So, then, "unfortunately" once more, but there is something we call life and something we call practice. We have created a rather sizable stratum of intelligentsia, but the intelligentsia is not sufficiently evident in the public. This conflict you have been talking about, it seems to me, is manifested in the fact that the intelligentsia is remaining silent. We have five or six people in Yugoslavia who appear in public, who engage in debate, who are always on the stage, who are trying to do something, wrong maybe, but they are trying. It is almost as if we can assign them each to a different republic....

Answer: ... It seems that each has one Suvar.

Question: And what is the reason why the intelligentsia is quiet, why is nothing happening at the universities, how do you account for this apathy and peace?

Answer: The statement that the intelligentsia is remaining silent has its premises. One of the premises is that this is not a time for the intelligentsia, that this is an exaggeratedly pragmatic time, an exaggeratedly politicized time, that creativity is not on the stage. I would have trouble agreeing with that thesis.

Question: To the thesis or the premise?

Answer: Yes, to the premise. Another possible premise is that the intelligentsia is silent because it judges that there is no place for it to perform its role, which in essence is the same thing.

Question: But there is also a third: that the intelligentsia has nothing to say?

Answer: Certainly, there is also that third one. My opinion may sound anti-intellectual, but I feel that the intelligentsia in and of itself cannot even have anything to say. The words that come from it itself as a social group or through institutions which belong to it as a historical legacy

(the universities and institutes) would not contribute anything to changing the situation. However, our communist movement must be concerned if the intelligentsia is remaining silent for two reasons: because it stands opposed or because it thinks the time is not right.

We have certain games of opposition which are played, and this should not be concealed. The conflict between the party and a portion of the philosophical intelligentsia is on the stage, and indirectly as well the conflict with a portion of the intelligentsia which belongs to the sector of cultural creativity. We see the shaping of a cultural figure who thinks that his a priori opposition is a guarantee of his spirituality.

I cannot understand this from the psychological standpoint, there is something in the psychology of creativity which does not allow the intellectual to merely open up toward any party; creativity is not something ready-made, but we are obviously dealing with categories which are relatively ready-made, and they are also terribly powerful. But it is not a question of the psychological plane, it is a question, as Vanja Sutlic would put it, of how to be contemporary. To be contemporary does not merely mean to exist in the time which is passing, but to create one's own time, and this is the basic problem of both our philosophy and our culture as a whole. How is philosophy to be a creator of its own time, and not just a critic and not just to suffer the consequences of the party's dogmatic, liberalistic or revolutionary commitment?

Question: There is something which bothered me a little personally in the book, and that is that you are more concerned with the intelligentsia's attitude toward the party, and too little with the party's attitude toward the intelligentsia.

Answer: I must settle accounts with my own conscience. I am neither happy nor unhappy in what I do, with what has happened to me in a society of divided labor. I simply cannot reconcile myself to the fact that the division of labor, or the party, has thrown me in a stratum, the group of "theoreticians," of "ideologues," and at the end to say also professor and politician, because in those categories I do not see a solution at all, neither for myself, nor for the human situation. These are all old categories, just as is politics, conceived as self-sufficient power that has become independent, power that indeed lives because the social force and associative power of people do not live. The man who is a politician and intellectual, I am intentionally using these psychological terms so as to be clearer, is in a sense unhappy as a contemporary. He must know the limits of belonging to the intelligentsia or to politics; otherwise he is not a contemporary, then his life is his intellectual work, or his life is politics, and he plays the daily mental game of thinking or ruling, but the real position of man is not resolved.

When I say the position of man, I am not thinking in abstract terms at all. The point is this: he cannot feel good so long as an enormous number of

people are thrown into a social relation in which they must be the slave of their existential needs and life is reduced to those needs, so long as he must bear the burden of various cultural, religious and other traditions, so long as that tradition tortures and plagues him.

Question: When you say that one stratum of the intelligentsia thinks that its time has not come, is that a very significant sentence?

Answer: In and of itself it is ideological, this is the limit of that judgment, but that does not mean that it is also accurate. I am in general afraid of ideologizing, my own included. How is one to save himself from it? There seems to be a solution: you do not save yourself from ideologizing if you suppose that the truth is something written down in textbooks of logic, that it is stated in the real position of people. The truth is a social relation in which man feels either free or enslaved. These are not theoretical statements. People are suffering, people are feeling unfreedom because they eat poorly, because of unfreedom in spiritual and cultural expression. Freedom and unfreedom are very real categories. We are always forgetting this, we think that these are norms of some kind, valued in and of themselves.

The Intelligentsia and Nationalism

Question: Your book warns clearly, almost explicitly, that the intelligentsia easily establishes ties with nationalism.

Answer: The intelligentsia, as a social stratum, is a bourgeois stratum by the nature of things, and that is the possibility that stands open for it to establish ties with nationalism. Of course, not unconditionally, but it is an open possibility, since there are fine bourgeois intellectuals who have never been nationalists, but have on the contrary contributed to development of the culture of their people. But so there will not be disagreements, it is not the intelligentsia which produces nationalism, it states it in ideological terms, it states in public terms, having derived it from the inner being of the average citizen. Nationalism is an internal human regression in a man's life style, his attitude toward other people and his entire historical endeavor. Man cannot help but be subject to the identity of his nationality, but the problem is whether he conceives this as a prerequisite or as the limit of his humanity.

Nationalism occurs in geyser fashion, all at once. Why? Because it is condensed, because it is previously given. By what agency? It is given by history. Not because I am speaking for publication in VJESNIK, but because I would not be able to think of it myself, in conceiving that phenomenon I have been greatly helped by the writings of Miroslav Krleza. First of all, his analysis of those profound causes of the split between the nationalities of Yugoslavia, and that conservative consciousness which has settled over the years like a sediment and become our average consciousness.

But let me immediately add another idea which I cherish, and I believe it is terribly important to our movement, I would almost say regulative; it runs like this: we must transform the political achievements of our revolution into spiritual achievements. This is the job which still remains to be done, which is still going on, an unfinished job, one which is not finished by publishing either a book or an encyclopedia; it is advanced by changing the way of life, the content of life. For that new way of life we need class struggle, we cannot merely launch the intellectual concept of the new man, we must create him through the way of life, through production relations--as a matter of fact, by a new mode of production of life. This is the test of Yugoslav society, the fundamental test in my opinion. This opens up the large topic: Are we a society with our own foundation or sociopolitically organized to fight to be on our own foundation? It would not be bad for our overall spiritual atmosphere to open up debate on how much is bourgeois and how much is self-management? This would not by any means jeopardize the commitment of our society, the political commitment, to self-management.

Question: You mention class struggle. Some people think that there is none today.

Answer: Certainly there isn't in the sense in which Marx spoke about it, but we should stop thinking in 19th century categories. I think that we must not abandon the platform of the class struggle so that we always know where we are: otherwise, it might seem to us at one point that the existing society is just what we wanted, when that is not true, this is not the society we wanted. Something needs to be said about the class interest, since when we say that we must take the viewpoint of the proletariat, we are not at all thinking in literal and empirical terms. The historical solution of human progress toward freedom is actually compressed in the category.

It is no accident that down through history interest has been the basic political category. A few days ago I read an interview by Sartre in which he said that we are still subhumans, which is probably a paraphrase of Marx' idea that we have not yet entered history, since we will enter it when we have finished with the problem of property. But we are still a society in which the problem of ownership exists. Regardless of the institutions, the concepts, the norms, and indeed the real relations, the struggle is still going on here between the development of social ownership and private ownership. Ideological tendencies, which we label petty bourgeois, technocratic, bureaucratic, are nothing other than a revival of the old historical problem of ownership. This is the strongest historical category, and it is good that we have started out on the road of its destruction, but at every point we must know to what extent we have destroyed it. After all, at every step we encounter not only a column of ideas and values which are those of private property and the senses which culminate in the sense of possession, but also the ownership practice, ownership relations, which are not the relations of human liberation.

The Ideology of the New Mode of Production of Life

Question: We have obviously arrived at the topic of self-management. Just the past few days we have again had an opportunity to hear the thesis that self-management was actually a political need, a way out of the situation in 1948.

Answer: We cannot think about self-management in institutional terms; I am inclined to the thesis that every authentic, democratic and mass revolution is eo ipso self-management. We cannot accept the idea that we commenced self-management in 1950, that was an organized act of society. In 1950 we were the Paris Commune, but we were a commune much earlier than that, at the time when we were assaulting the first tasks of the revolution, just as the Communards did.

I would like to say that self-management must be freed of that institutional and normative pressure, that it must be conceived as a historical process of seizing freedom. But I have one thing to add here: I think that it would be very dangerous if we were to prepare ourselves quickly in theoretical and practical terms, if we did not become conscious of a great and terrible pragma, or reduction, of self-management merely to economic relations, if we do not extend self-management over the totality of life. Kardelj did not have time, he devoted only some 10 pages to that vision of self-management; in his steps we must put meaning into this revolution with the idea of self-management, and that means introduce that idea in the entirety of our life. Self-management is worth nothing to us if it does not result in new freedoms, an altered position in the world of labor, if it does not destroy that manipulative, that revolting guild and patriarchal industrial work which reduces man to a creature who labors, who spends one-third of his day in front of the television set and rests one-third so that he can start from the beginning tomorrow. We must also attack its structure, we must attack the mode of production of life, attack the inertia of the old needs created by history with which we live today. Our ideology must be the ideology of new needs, of a new mode of man's production. An old and very risky question; but not a new man from any sort of ideological center, not even the party, but the shaping of man from his self-application in the world of labor. Certain practical consequences for the development of self-management should follow from these ideas.

Question: It is obvious that such reflections are present in society, especially in the League of Communists. Finally, is it no accident that today we are again talking about the decisions of the Sixth Congress, which adopted the decision for the party to change itself? Nevertheless, there are those forces in the party which do not allow the party decisions to be carried out.

Answer: That is true. At this point the basic issue of the League of Communists is how to understand what I have said to myself. Now let us take the decisions of the 11th Congress. We are already halfway to the next

congress, and only now is it clear to us what action means when the basic organization is the principal political organizer rather than the member, as was previously the case, which means that the party is acting under the conditions of the delegate system, in the context of collective leadership. There have been attempts to degrade this idea, this is what we call bourgeois inertia. But calling that idea into question would be equivalent to counterrevolution, would mean retaining the old political idea, the old relations.

Question: And finally, where does the title come from: "From the Party to the Revolution"?

Answer: We have great experience, and not only our own, with the reduction of the revolution to the opinion of the party, to the leadership of the party; it immediately comes to reduction of the revolution. I intended with the title of the book to call attention to the program of the self-liberation of the working class. We must always keep the party in our critical view in that we must conceive it as a means of the liberation of labor, we must always be afraid that it will become an end in itself, sufficient unto itself. These are some of the motives I had in calling the book "From the Party to the Revolution."

7045
CSO: 2800

ARCHBISHOP'S ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA ATTACKS SUPPORTED

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian No 7, 1980 (Easter Edition) pp 4, 6

[Article by Bishop Mijo Skvorc: "Atheism and Atheization"]

[Text] VJESNIK of Zagreb published on 25 March 1980 an article entitled "Atheism Is Not Atheization" by Nenad Ivankovic which ran to nearly two columns. The article, which was set off to catch attention, was an answer to two excerpts from the Lenten letter of Monsigneur Franjo Kuharic, Archbishop of Zagreb, which GLAS KONCILA published under the heading "Watch and Pray." In his three-part article Ivankovic dealt with the topics "Socialism Is Not Atheism," "Confused Jurisdictions" and "Outspoken Challenge." Since the article abounds not only in severe attacks on our archbishop, but also in certain strange assertions, there is a need to explain what this is all about to readers.

I. Temptations for the Faith: Are They or Not?

The archbishop's letter deals with the topic "The Present Condition and Tasks of Our Church" under 11 points and in 8 fairly large pages. This letter is a theological--and still more an ascetic-moral cross section of Catholic reality, Catholic consciousness and Catholic responsibility. It speaks about the difficulties and anxieties we have been experiencing, it speaks about the attacks we have been receiving. It deals with loyalty to Jesus Christ and to his vice-regent, the prayer of individual souls and our families, the joy and fruitfulness of life, and the sacramental and eucharistic meeting with Christ and the brothers on Sunday.

From this overabundance of material which was offered Catholics for them to hear in their churches and to consider at home, Nenad Ivankovic extracted two passages and lumped them together. They contain the archbishop's caution that Catholics watch and pray since they are surrounded and seduced by temptations of all sorts and since life around us is becoming atheistic. Here is that quotation in its entirety:

rewards and praise according to professional competence and quality, according to ability and effort.

Ivankovic writes that a battle is going on for something which is "much deeper and more fundamental than the question of whether people simply believe in god (he writes the word God in lower case, contrary to proper orthography) or not." What Ivankovic means by "deeper" seems to be man's concern with the good of individuals and the good of the community. If the faith encourages people in that direction, then let him believe. If he thinks that the faith gets in his way, let him act without the faith if he can. As far as that goes, the archbishop did not write a single word against atheists and their activity for the good of the community in our society.

Then Ivankovic makes a fatal statement, one which actually erases all these visions and denies all this. "In this connection we certainly should recall that in the strict sense of the word atheism (negation of god in the name of man) is only a NECESSARY PREREQUISITE (emphasized by M.S.) for establishment of socialist social relations, but it is not a constitutive element of socialism as such...." How are we to take this? Perhaps like this: all--both believers and atheists--can build socialism, but only if they accept atheism as a NECESSARY PREREQUISITE of socialism. In and of itself socialism, in its constitution and essence, is not necessarily atheistic. But atheism is a necessary prerequisite of it. Socialism is not atheism, but without atheism it does not exist. Perhaps not. Atheism, then, is the key to the door of socialism. What does it mean to say a "necessary prerequisite" of someone or something? Is it a necessary prerequisite to being a Marxist that you master the doctrine of Karl Marx? If you want to be a Christian, is it a necessary prerequisite that you acquire confidence in the God-man Jesus Christ? Certainly a light from outside and an eye within us are a necessary prerequisite for vision. According to Ivankovic, it is atheism that is a necessary prerequisite for socialism to be established somewhere. Which means that without atheism there is no socialism. This is atheism "in the strict sense of the word." No socialist movements which have thrown theophobia and atheism out of their programs can give birth to socialism therefore.

If this statement of Nenad Ivankovic is right, then it is also true what Archbishop Kuharic says to the effect that atheization is being carried out in our country, since this is merely confirmed by the fact that our society wishes to establish socialist relations. But for them, says Ivankovic, "atheism in the strict sense of the word is a necessary prerequisite."

Why, then, does Ivankovic call the archbishop's statement about atheization, which is necessary for socialism, a "true failure and unexampled case of maliciousness"? Haven't the greatest followers of Karl Marx imitated him in endeavoring to atheize man, that is, to liberate him from belief in God?

"Are we not tempted today in many ways? We are tempted against the faith, we are tempted against God's and the church's teachings, we are tempted against the sacraments and all the saints. We are tempted against the eternal meeting of our existence. We are incited against the Creator and against the Redeemer.... As a matter of fact, never in the history of the human race have there been so many temptations against the faith as today. Systematic atheization is being conducted with all the instruments of power in large parts of the world. Even in our country there is atheization in the sector of public social upbringing, beginning with the day nursery and going all the way to the university. This is a fact. There is no need to present reams of evidence. Nevertheless, we must declare once again that the sacred rights of religious parents have been violated when their children are enticed into unbelief in the name of materialistic ideology, and this is done in the public schools which are the property of the entire people."

Convinced that "Archbishop Franjo Kuharic ... has equated the attitude of the social community toward religion with the most flagrant assaults on the faith and the fundamental ideological tendencies of society with militant atheism," the writer wishes to demonstrate that the archbishop's assertions are unfounded, that his attempt is a bit provocative, and that his position is outright hostile. Ivankovic does not utter this in precisely strict logical order, but he puts it frankly and in no uncertain terms.

Under the points which follow I would like to deal with the main premises which Ivankovic uses in defending socialist society and the Catholic Church against the archbishop's "inappropriate and malicious" attempt, as he puts it, to present ideas and facts incorrectly.

II. Is Socialism Atheism?

Ivankovic's first subheading reads: "Socialism Is Not Atheism." This in other words means that our social system must not be reduced "to an abstraction on the order of materialistic ideology" or "equated with atheism," as the archbishop supposedly does.

Utterances like this, when they are sincere, actually hearten the faithful. Recently prestigious leaders of Marxism in Yugoslavia have cautioned that our society as a whole must not be divided into atheist and believers. It is a society, they say, of democratic freedom. It opens the doors of its workplaces and offices to all citizens; it offers equal opportunities to atheists and believers to all responsible positions. (See on this the report of BORBA on 20 March 1980 concerning a meeting of the Socialist Alliance in Belgrade, where the opinion was expressed to the effect that "a paragraph on moral and political fitness should not be included in the text of the social compact on personnel policy at the federal level"--AKSA [CURRENT CHRISTIAN EVENTS], No 12, 21 March 1980, page 1.) Statements like this have been seen by many as a sign of the self-manager's equality and consciousness, which gives the members of our society appropriate places,

As we see, Ivankovic should have stated that atheization is necessary if we wish to build socialism (according to his formula). Without atheism, he has written, there is no socialism. Without atheization, there is no atheism.

The archbishop's warnings to believers are comprehensible in this entangled situation. For us our faith is an immeasurable treasure, a gift of grace and a question of our soul. The archbishop is not abandoning tolerance "on behalf of the exclusive rights of believers," but feels that the faith must defend itself in an actual danger. The faith needs to be kept, nurtured, enriched and strengthened in a society which, according to Ivankovic, requires atheism as a necessary prerequisite.

III. Is There Any Atheization in Our Schools?

Speaking about atheization in our schools, Ivankovic presented these two assertions: Our education is truly atheistic (since it is Marxist and scientific), but it does not constitute atheization (since if they wish the students can believe what they like). It seems that something is not altogether clear here.

Our archbishop himself has said that our education is atheistic. We are all clear on that. The believers are rightly upset by that. After all, an "atheistic school" is not a scientific institution because of its atheism. Education is set up as a temple of knowledge and decency. Atheism does not belong to any school of knowledge, just as faith does not. Education as a "temple of learning" must reveal various perceptions about the world, nature, history and man in scientific, experimental, inductive and visual ways. That is its function, and its function does not go beyond that.

If schools begin to convince the pupils of the atheistic view of the world, then they become a "philosophical" classroom, they become a "lecture hall of religious teaching" preceded by a negative sign. Atheism is a process of conclusion, a thought process which takes man to the conviction that he is alone in the universe, without a Creator, without a Guide, without meaning, without the eternal purpose of life, carried away by the maelstrom of natural and historical forces, borne away into unconsciousness and the obscurity of disappearance. But that is not the result of any subject in the school curriculum--neither mathematics, nor the natural sciences, nor history, nor engineering. It is a conviction which comes from "noneducational" sources, which is justified by noneducational goals. Of course, believers are dissatisfied with the method, with the content, with the textbooks, with some of the provocations used to indoctrinate and atheize the children of believers--for all the denials of Mr Ivankovic.

Our archbishop does not say that the "absence of religious science in the schools" necessarily constitutes atheization. The archbishop says, and this we all know, that the atheism in our educational system, which is acknowledged by Mr Ivankovic, actually constitutes atheization. Ivankovic denies

this. Atheism, he says, is not atheization. Perhaps it would not be if this kind of atheistic upbringing of young people allowed the other side of the coin to be shown to the students. If they were objectively revealed the true purport of religion and faith. The system of atheistic schools, however, interprets everything to the young people solely within one closed system, places an atheistic visor and blinkers over their eyes so that they do not look on the other side and do not experience religious human and historical realities. This is atheization. It is converting the consciousness of children which their parents wish to raise and start off in life as believers.

Ivankovic, as we see, states that our educational system necessarily interprets everything atheistically, but that it is not creating atheists. For all the efforts made so that schoolchildren will conceive everything in atheistic terms, the educational system "does not stand in their way of believing what they wish...." Our educational system does not favorize atheists, he says, nor does it force atheism on anyone (except the teachers, he might well have added).

This is the difference between our educational system and, say, the system in some countries where the educational system is truly secular, but not atheistic. Nor are those ideal schools. But instructors who are religious teach alongside those who are not in those schools. In those schools young people can get their bearings far more easily, can become familiar with both the good and bad sides of believing and not believing, if that is what it is a question of. But even there conversations about believing and not believing are not a necessary spice added to the subjects in the school curriculum, but are free discussion insofar as young people engage in them. Nor does anyone there link atheism to science as Mr Ivankovic does, but the distinction is made between them which is required by the very nature of things.

Our atheism, then, has its classrooms (as faith has its classrooms in the churches). There is a huge difference, however. The children attend classes in religious teaching voluntarily and outside the school curriculum, while the law of the land requires them to attend the teachings of atheism as part of the school system. The churches are supported by the religious themselves, but the schools are built and maintained by the taxes, contributions and efforts of believers and nonbelievers alike. The public school it the "property of the entire people," the archbishop has said. So the parents must watch and listen to how their children are learning the canon of unbelief, the atheistic "credo," which is not why they bear their children, nor pay their taxes.

The author of the article entitled "Atheism Is Not Atheization" also makes another interesting assertion. He writes that our society "in the name of the goals we are striving for is ESSENTIALLY INTERESTED (emphasis mine--M.S.) in an atheistic educational system, that is, in the advancement of the Marxist and scientific understanding of the world and its phenomena,

and in that respect it cannot make any concessions whatsoever." We suppose that these are truly great and interesting goals which later must be common to both believers and nonbelievers. In accordance with those common goals the educational system must lead man without religious justification and foundation, without conscientious self-examination and the framing of logical conclusions, without seeking meaning not only for an ordinary job, entertainment, house and employment, but of survival in general and the very summit of everything--death. Religious people rightly ask what those goals of our society are and where they are achieved (in the fields of study and research? work and industry? trade and government administration? recreation and entertainment? ...) which necessarily require man to have an atheistic view of the world, require a man with an ethics that is not founded on religion, without full religious responsibility both before history and before God?

In the end Ivankovic stubbornly asserts that this kind of atheistic educational system, the systematic atheistic reeducation even of those who believe, "truly has nothing to do with any sort of atheization (as the archbishop construed it in his letter), in just the same way as religious teaching does not in and of itself have any relation to clericalism." Except that we say that religious teaching brings up believers, and he says that atheistic teaching does not bring up atheists. And he finds it strange after that the archbishop does not know that the Second Vatican Council declared that the jurisdiction of the church is not to be confused with the political community. In other words, the church should be left to peacefully look on as the political community creates atheists from its children. In other words, the Council's declaration on Christian upbringing should be erased; the bishop should be forbidden to speak about the rights of believers to religious freedom and the teaching which is guaranteed them by the statements of so many international forums; the bishops should abandon their faithful to the mercy of atheistic propaganda--both in the school system and also in the mass media, which carry atheism regularly and almost officially, and do not offer religion the opportunity of even defending itself here and there.

IV. The Two Last Questions

Does Archbishop Kuharic want to turn the church "into an opposition to the state and society" (this is the most serious charge that can be made before our society)?

Is the archbishop of Zagreb an opponent of his own church, the Council and the recent popes? (This is the most serious charge before the church.)

The archbishop is above all a man, Ivankovic says, who has gotten jurisdictions confused. The archbishop is bearing witness to "a religious integralism which the church wishes to transform into opposition to the state and society." After various other statements unfitting and offensive to our archbishop, this is a political charge. The archbishop is accused, we have

heard, of a "case of unexampled maliciousness"; he is attributed with having "criticized the social community"; "real nonsense" is attributed to him; he is said to have meddled in the "jurisdiction of the political community"; this statement of his is referred to as "malicious attempt." These are all bold words and serious insults of our archbishop. The archbishop's official cautions addressed to believers Ivankovic sees as manipulation of the believers and an ill-intentioned taking over of the church. The archbishop's words about temptations and attacks on our religion are seen by Ivankovic as meddling in government and political affairs. The archbishop's clear statement that in both society and the educational system believers must be granted their right to a religious creed and to bear witness to their faith is regarded by Ivankovic as the statement of a subversive. The archbishop should not be working so that believers in our society are also content, recognized and accepted as equal builders of this society. The archbishop has simply been convicted because he is carrying out Jesus' command made to the shepherds of Jesus' flock, that like Jesus they watch over it and preserve it. The command not to flee, not to leave it, not to live like hirelings "who careth not for the sheep" (John 10:13).

This latter accusation against the archbishop of Zagreb suggests that he is disloyal to his church. This is nothing new. And it has been heard from various places. Our episcopacy and clergy have on several occasions been accused of--allegedly--acting against the Second Vatican Council and against the recent popes. It turns out that atheism must rescue the church from its enemies within the church itself, from its bishops and priests. In this case the assertion signifies that our archbishop, who spoke in the Council and signed the documents of the Council, does not understand the Council and is dangerously misrepresenting its intentions. The archbishop does not understand that the church must--at the Council's behest--become close to the world and social systems, become open, without anathemas, full of blessings for everything that happens, without warnings against alleged dangers, without warnings to its believers. The archbishop, however, is traveling a different road. He is altogether in the spirit of the message of the Holy Revelation, he sees everything in the light of God's Word, he interprets everything in the spirit of Jesus Christ. The archbishop is truly altogether in the spirit of the Council and the papal announcements, knowing that the Council and the present-day popes are passing on the messages of the Gospel to our own days, for our own needs and our own difficulties. The archbishop is not Red enough, since he is altogether in the church and for the church; since he is sufficiently familiar with the lines of magnetic force and suggestions of the world and the devil; after all, he is constantly warning his believers, as in this letter, "watch and pray"!

The conclusion might run like this: following this attack on our archbishop, we will all the more readily accept his words, we will all the more zealously pray with him and for him, we will work all the more seriously so all believers in this country's society are on an equal footing with atheists.

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DJORDJEVIC ARTICLE IN 'NIN' DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by Zivorad Djordjeuie in the LCY organ KOMMUNIST: "Life Within the Government and Outside of It"]

[Text] To enter into a public dialogue with a man of such scientific and political authority as Dr Jovan Djordjevic is no small matter. It is made all the more difficult by the fact that Professor Djordjevic, in the interview in 'NIN' [Informative Weekly] (30 March 1980), spoke in a clever, interesting, and critical manner on the subjects of toleration, freedom of thought, government and self-management, and scientific workers and government officials and their contribution in the creation of the system of constitutional law in postwar Yugoslavia. One must not forget, of course, that Professor Djordjevic's own theoretical contribution to Yugoslav social thought has indeed been a great one.

These preliminary observations do not seem to me to be superfluous considering the established inelegant notion that every dialog with a certain position entails discrediting the work and the person himself of him who takes this position, or the obligatory opposing point of view of such a dialogue.

Although I respect Professor Djordjevic's theoretical work and his contribution as a whole, the fact is that we are concerned with a newspaper interview with its inherent dangers of improvisation, superficiality, and incomplete statements, and I am sure that several of the positions he stated in the text mentioned above can be critically evaluated.

The Meaning of Stabilization

First of all, the remarks Professor Djordjevic made concerning the state of our social and theoretical thinking are interesting. I would agree with the professor that the level of our thinking has stagnated, that "there is no line of thought which is moving in a direct and linear manner," and that "theoretical thought is conditioned by and inseparable from historical, social, and economic conditions." Then Professor Djordjevic says, "today we find ourselves in condition of stabilization [in bold face],

which to a certain extent influences the stagnating process, and which never acts as a stimulus with regard to the new." I might still agree with him that stabilization of society inhibits the development of theory, but only stabilization which is a regressive phenomenon in society, which in the name of social stability in the Comtean sense of the word, incapacitates every progressive development in a society. But the question is whether or not the theoretical maxim of middle-class sociology of Auguste Comte from the last century, ordine ad proggressum [in bold face] (progress through successive stages), in which Comte argued for the need of the constructive building of middle-class society in order to preserve it, can be schematically "superimposed" onto the situation in contemporary Yugoslav society. I also do not think that the term "stabilization," even when talking about economic stabilization, is used in a felicitous manner. Moreover, it would be difficult to talk about the stabilization of Yugoslav society after 1963 in the Comtean sense of the word, which implies a restraining of progressive socialistic revolutionary tendencies. Because if one can say that a feverish struggle has been carried out in the period since 1963 for the strengthening of direct self-management, for a radical break with the past based on the principles of the constitution passed that year, then it is difficult to talk about stabilization as a regressive phenomenon. Indeed I do not think that from 1963 to this point in our development everything has gone as it should for us, that there have not been large discrepancies between what has been proclaimed and what exists in fact, and that there have not been times of stagnation. But it would be difficult, even in the most general theoretical conception, to describe that feverish struggle for the new, the challenges to the past and the efforts to break with it, as stabilization, as a state in which no changes, no important events take place.

For these reasons, one should not talk about "stabilization" as the most general encompassing factor for the stagnation of social and theoretical thought. The reasons are much deeper and more concrete. I would like to mention one of them which I am convinced contributes to stagnation in an essential way. Society stimulates the development of theoretical thought by material means, but after an end was put administratively to the budgetary means for financing the social sciences, we did not find a more adequate method for financing which would direct the development of theoretical thought in a stimulating manner. This type of vacuum caused by abandoning the old methods of financing theoretical activities while not immediately finding new means, accompanied by the absence of a more organized manner of directing scientific work in accordance with the needs of societal development, has led to the appearance of an unorganized social force independent of authority in this area and to the dilution of theoretical thought, which instead of devising a practical work program in a scientific and critical manner, has either set off on avenues of abstract professorial meditating far removed from practice or has gone the way of a naked, pragmatic, positivistic and apologetic defense of the status quo. Should there really be so many scientific projects, in which hundreds of millions are invested, which remain outside of any sort of influence of society

as a whole or of the direct financiers, and for which society has no actual clearly expressed needs; should we have remained indifferent for years to the fact that in Belgrade alone there are six economic institutes leading a threadbare existence, each with their own separate, attendant departments; should we not be more sensitive to the fact that a prominent theoretician has published the same text five times and received an honorarium for each one? In other words, it is a lack of a more adequate directing of the development of scientific thought by society which leads to the demand of individuals and scientific institutes for as large of a share in the various financial sources as they can get and to the creation of scholarly clans, but it is not "stabilization" which is the overall limiting factor in the lagging of theoretical thought in the practical development of society.

It would be difficult, therefore, to accept the viewpoint that there are not enough subjects and processes, created from a number of inconsistencies, which ought to be in the center of theoretical deliberation. It is even harder to accept the idea that "someone" in society has either consciously or unconsciously shackled the development of this kind of critical and productive thought. Besides this, I am in agreement with Professor Djordjevic when he says that "one is always more critical when on the attack, when tearing something down, and more lax when he is being affirmative." Of course one must not forget that an affirmative idea is not always an apologetic one, so that in spite of the danger that this may be the case, the idea should not be disqualified in advance. On the other hand, the fetishism of the "criticism which destroys" can be reactionary under certain conditions. In a dynamic society like Yugoslavia, the seeds of tomorrow, in the words of Kardelj, are sown in the present. As Kardelj has warned, blind, destructive criticism of everything that exists in the present also destroys what is positive, destroys the seed of a still more progressive society in the future. To destroy that seed is a very regressive act. One is therefore concerned with the need for criticism which takes a creative position, which aspires toward goals.

Concerning the Government and Mistrust

The point of view concerning relations between government and self-management presented by Professor Djordjevic without a doubt deserves the most attention. I have already said that it is difficult within the limited space of a newspaper interview to set forth in a coherent fashion one's theoretical viewpoint--which has been years in the making--concerning this problem. Nevertheless there are a number of incomplete statements and contradictions in the conversation in question. One should, to be sure, accept the professor's criticism of the etatist consciousness which is still ever present, the considerable involvement of the state in regulating social relations, and his criticism of bureaucracy in general. But at the same time there are too many inflexible and rather vaguely addressed formulations, such as this one, which apparently concerns government administration: "This whole method of organization, this whole system,

actually a system of bureaucratic conception, is based on a division into the group which works and the group which governs." Rightfully criticizing the bureaucratic obstinacy of the state, Professor Djordjevic thinks that "all of the structures which could replace it have not yet been created," but in addition to this falls into pure voluntarism when he adds the remark, "until some [in bold face] new powers come about, it will remain this way." One must believe in new, fresh forces, even if the indefinite "some," but the elimination (or replacement) of the government cannot be accomplished just by having the personnel surrender their duties to someone else. Is it really such great wisdom to say that the life of the state is determined as well by "some" objective conditions, and not by the love or the hatred of the people for it alone? Must one be reminded that the functions of the Yugoslav government, with the introduction of socialist self-management, were begun by precisely those people who were at the top of the government and the party?

Professor Djordjevic subsequently offers the opinion, with justification, that there is still mistrust in the working class, the individual, and in self-management. But it comes out from this very interview that in the year 1950 he expressed doubt as to "how much our working class has already matured today economically and culturally" for the introduction of self-management, and somewhat later he says that the theoretical level before the revolution and even later was at a low level. After hearing such critical remarks by Professor Djordjevic, it is hard to see a solution to the problem of outgrowing the mistrust in the working class and the individual emerging from this interview.

In the interview, Professor Djordjevic presents the worthy idea that we must create a culture of labor, that we must introduce moral as well as material stimuli. However, the impression is that the professor oversimplifies the system of distribution in accordance with the results of labor, equating it to the bourgeois principle: pay a man well and he will work well. It would be difficult, even with extracted Marxian quotations concerning the principle of distribution in accordance with the amount of labor, to prove in a proper way this stubborn position which sees only the bourgeois principle referred to above in our adopted principle of distribution. I do not think that it is necessary to put a padlock on criticism of this principle which our society has opted for and now practices in a more or less successful manner, but the matter here concerns a flatly expressed evaluation which is reminiscent of an indiscriminate disqualification rather than a substantiated criticism. Moreover, Professor Djordjevic has opposed the moral and the material factor of motivation. The dilemma of moral and material motivation is artificial, and as Kardelj said on one occasion, it is "the expression of a paternalistic relationship to the working class." In fact, such a dilemma can be stated only for the type of relationships in which social capital is outside economic and political control and the power of the working class. Under the conditions of our society, moral and material stimuli are mutually related. Only where the workers do not possess the products of their labor can technological and bureaucratic patrons appear who will "praise" or "reward" (by whose means?) the worker.

After reading this interview with Professor Djordjevic, full of critical remarks on the results of the struggle for power and money, the lack of toleration of society for freedom which results from this, (the professor paraphrases Sainte-Just and says "the more opinions there are, the more freedom there is," but does not say that every opinion--nationalistic, technocratic, dogmatic--does not mean greater freedom), on the independence of the individual, the official duty of scientists to society, the thought occurred to me at the end: Why could we not hear the esteemed professor's theoretically grounded reflections long before this?

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LOCAL-LEVEL, JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS IN CROATIA DESCRIBED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 80 p 5

[Interview with Zvonko Spoljar, president of the Croatian Social Council for Questions of Social Order; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The republic Social Council for Questions of Social Order has established this year's work program. On this occasion we asked Zvonko Spoljar, president of the council, to discuss the program (53 topics) from the position of its main orientations.

[Question] The social councils have been acting for several years already, but one could not say that they are especially known to the public. What could you tell us about the Council for Questions of Social Order?

[Answer] Social councils are a form of organization for a democratic exchange and reconciliation of opinions, for mutual cooperation and consultation on basic questions regarding the establishment and the implementation of the policy and the development of socialist self-management relations in order to offer aid in preparing, adopting and carrying out social and self-management decisions. The council has 22 permanent members, representatives of organs and social-political organizations of the republic, or prominent social workers. Eleven specialized groups and 22 sub-groups participate in the work of the council. Several hundreds of specialists, scientists and social-political workers also participate in the expanded activity of the council.

[Question] Is the coordination of the legislature with the constitutional system going to be this year's most important preoccupation of the council?

[Answer] Yes, this can be singled out as a whole set of questions which will occupy the council. The relations of self-management and state regulations will be analyzed within this framework. It is essential to evaluate whether the state regulations narrow the space for the self-management organization of relations and the development of

self-management on the whole. There are quite a few global judgments about this, so that the situation will have to be determined as realistically as possible.

Further, an assessment will have to be made as to whether the federal legislation encroaches on the authority of the republic legislation and if the republic legislation, by its scope and manner, encroaches on the authority of opstinas. The necessary analyses are being worked out by about 16 sub-groups. Analyses would refer to all areas of social life in relation to specific legal texts.

[Question] What would you single out as a second important group of topics?

[Answer] This is the question of the concentration of funds and the realization of solidarity on the republic level. Here one should consider whether the funds for all the social needs which are today being realized within the framework of the republic budget, republic funds and republic self-management interest communities should be collected on the republic level, or whether a very significant part of these needs can be satisfied on the level of opstina communities themselves.

Further, solidarity funds in the republic are concentrated in about 15 "lines" [channels], only to be returned by redistribution through the same channels to individual opstinas. In doing so, the developed as well as nondeveloped opstinas are being burdened by these obligations.

The other side of this concentration of funds is that power centers are appearing at its basis, that a relative alienation of funds occurs, that capitalistic relations are appearing in some funds and communities, etc.

[Question] Could you provide some figures to support [these facts on] the concentration of funds?

[Answer] According to data for 1978, 7,097 billion old dinars were concentrated in the republic from the gross revenue of all the budgets, self-management interest communities and funds. The concentration on the republic level amounted to 3,047 billion, i.e., 43 percent, on the level of the opstina communities to 822 billion or 12 percent, and in the opstina to 3,228 billion, i.e., 45 percent of all the concentrated funds.

These are indeed not all the solidarity funds, and although the concentration of funds is necessary, the question is should it be such, should there be so many channels of concentration and so many "powerful persons," influential groups or individuals, with all the negative qualities which come from this.

[Question] What are you proposing?

[Answer] An investigation should be made as to whether the solidarity can be secured in another way. For example, maybe the funds from the insufficiently developed opstinas should not be taken and then returned to them.

[Question] You also mentioned the concentration of funds in the commune. Is the council going to deal also with this question?

[Answer] It will deal with it as part of the topics on the communal system. The relations in the commune will be reexamined in a critical way from the position of further development and progress of the communal system. Here one will examine how much the concentration of funds and work in the opstina hinders the development of self-management relations and realization of the rights of the working people in the basic organization of associated work and local communities to rule on all the social reproduction relations. Our estimate is that the concentration of funds in the self-management interest communities weakens the material basis of the associated work and of activity in the direct free exchange of labor. The revision of many laws from the area of social activities and infrastructure is anticipated, as well as the passing of laws on local community, which will give a more determined basis for a direct exchange of work, affirmation of basic self-management interest communities and local communities. This should contribute toward a decrease of concentration of funds and power in the opstina.

[Question] There are opinions that the territorial organization of the republic should be changed. Some think that there are too many opstinas, others think that there are too few. The opstina communities are also under a critical scrutiny. Is the council also going to examine these opinions?

[Answer] The council will especially analyze the territorial aspect of the commune and the realization of the constitutional concept of the opstina communities.

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